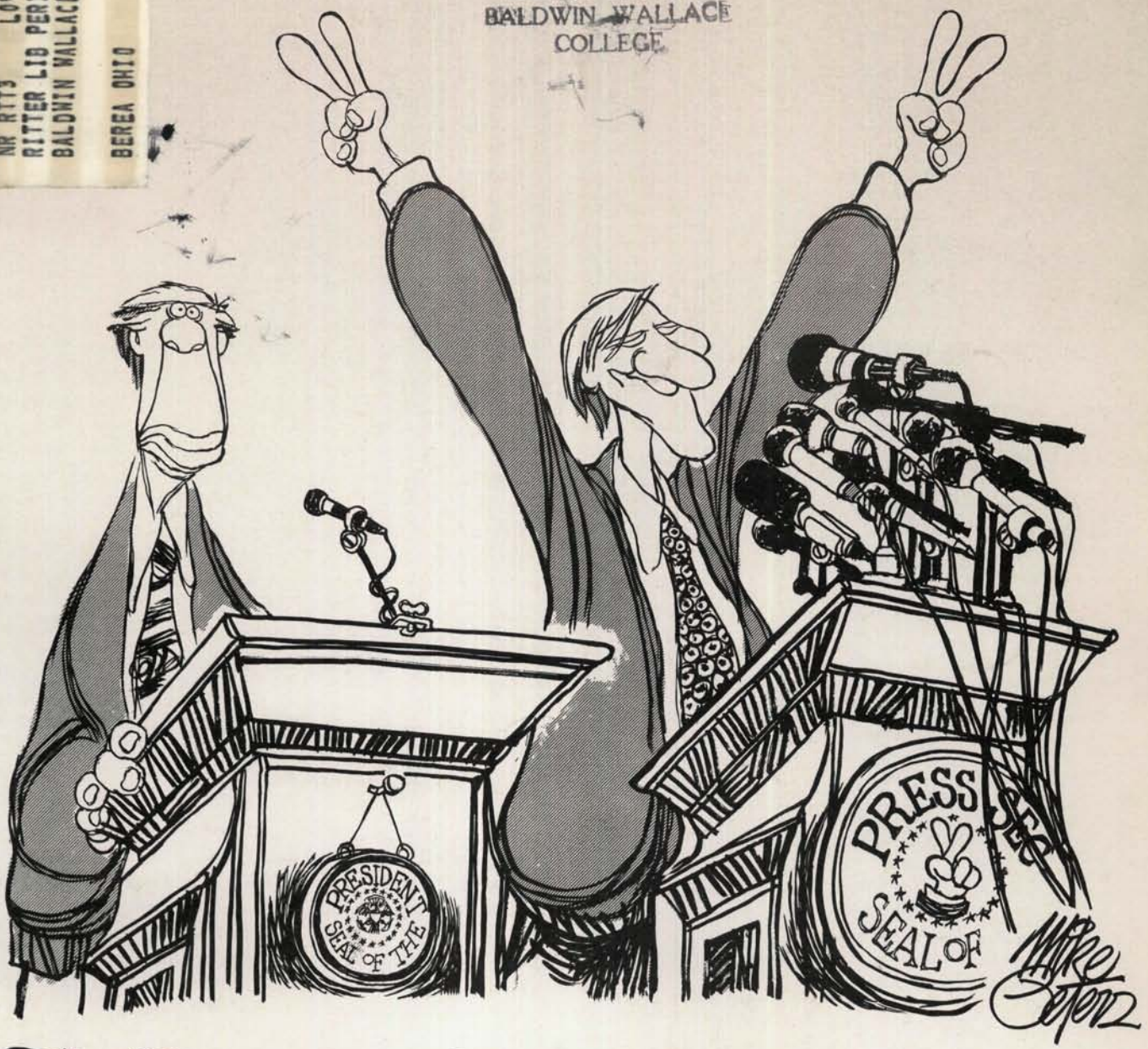
Galbraith in Dullesville • TRB at Eighty • Robert Coles on Piaget
What to Do About the Miners • What Communism Did for America

THE NEW REPUBLIC

NEWSPAPER NEW
NR RT3 L099SEP 78 1 01
RITTER LIB PERIODICALS
BALDWIN WALLACE COLL
BEREA OHIO 44017

March 18, 1978 Price One Dollar

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN WALLACE
COLLEGE



The Rise of the Press Secretary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cuisine a la Madison

7:00 a.m. until Midnight

THE MONTPELIER RESTAURANT

Superb continental cuisine and vintages graciously served in an atmosphere of quiet elegance. Open for luncheon, dinner and an enticing English Brunch on Sundays (except July and August) from 11 a.m. until 3 p.m.

THE MONTPELIER LOUNGE

Prix Fixe Buffet
from 11:30 a.m. until 2:30 p.m.
An intimate cocktail rendezvous
from 5 p.m. until 2 a.m.

LA PROVENCE

A continental coffee house for breakfast, lunch and dinner.

THE RETREAT

An old English pub serving fine refreshments, luncheon and light supper.

LA TERRACE

A delightful Parisien cafe open from 7 a.m. until 3 p.m.

LE RENDEZ-VOUS

A European streetside restaurant serving breakfast, brunch and lunch.

THE MADISON

Washington's Correct Address
15th & M Streets, Northwest
Free inside parking, sheltered access
Reservations • Telephone (202) 785-1000
Marshall B. Coyne, Proprietor

TRB

from Washington ®
March 18, 1978

State of the Soviet Union

At two pm on November 13, 1959, CIA director Allen Dulles, appearing before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, presented a frightening statement about the Russian economy which I have before me as I write. He warned that Soviet industrial production had been growing "at a rate at least twice that of the US since 1950" and that "Soviet GNP has also been growing twice as rapidly."

It was chilling. Remember that two years before, Russia had startled America by putting up Sputnik. We weren't ready for it. We regarded Russia as a large, backward, agricultural dictatorship whose Marxist philosophy kept tripping up its industrial production. The ebullient Nikita Khrushchev was uttering boasts about Soviet output that we couldn't take seriously. He told the Communist Party Congress in February 1959, for example, that the USSR "intends to outstrip the US economically." (We chuckled.) He put a date on it: after their current Seven Year Plan, he boasted, "we will probably need about five more years to catch up with and outstrip the US industrial output." By that time (1970) "or perhaps even sooner," he said, "the Soviet Union will advance to first place in the world both in absolute volume of production and in per capita production." It was silly but it was scary, too. And now here was Allen Dulles's testimony.

General Eisenhower was President. By playing cat and mouse with the US economy—whenever recovery developed he slapped on the anti-inflationary brakes—he kept prices under control, but also produced three recessions in eight years, a record. Khrushchev believed, or pretended to believe, that America's growth rate would stumble along at two percent. Dulles told us at this point that Russia's was booming at 7.7 percent, or 10 percent if you included military production.

So now 1970 has come and gone. The Dulles scare was a false alarm. The technical gap between the USA and the USSR is big and it is one of the most important things in the world today; it is more important, in the long run probably than subs and nuclear bombs because the supply of subs and nuclear bombs ultimately depends on overall national output. The economic gap will continue in our favor unless we have a failure of national will, as we did in Eisenhower's day when we let our GNP lag; as we have in the past four years in our unwillingness to write an energy bill, or as we may be doing again now when we accept inflation, unemployment, a wobbling dollar, a colossal trade deficit and the prospect of a recession stemming from a coal blackout.

Russia has come a long way industrially in 20 years, but it has a long way to go. Yale University has a new symposium, "The Technological Level of Soviet Industry," which notes that "in most of the technologies studied no substantial diminution of the technological gap between the Soviet Union and the west has occurred." The chemical industry "had to import two-thirds of its new plants in the 1960s from the west."

Harvard's Russian Research Center has studied the Soviets' current five year plan (1976-1981), and finds that agriculture and the oil industry are holding their economy back. Grain output and fertilizer lag behind targets. Russia is the world's biggest crude oil producer but her conveniently located wells are tapering off and the new ones are beyond the Urals which, in relative terms, is like saying, in Alaska. The CIA makes comparisons as in Allen Dulles's day. Its report last July shows the septugenarian Soviet leadership facing the hardest kind of choices; they want to catch up with us militarily, they want to expand their industrial base and they must meet minimal consumer expectations. They suffer four handicaps which, the CIA says, are causing a slowdown in growth: a decline in the labor force from reduced birthrate; declining growth of capital productivity; an undependable agriculture caused by harsh climate and Marxist production methods; and a limited capacity to earn hard currency to buy needed technology and machines abroad. What course will they follow when ailing Leonid Brezhnev goes?

For a capitalist country like the US,

(continued on page 38)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You can always tell a magazine by the company it keeps.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS readers (a few of whom are quoted below) expect a lot from their magazine. Not just a decent regard for facts. Or first-rate writing. Above all, they look for a better understanding of world events today. And, on occasion, a preview of what tomorrow may bring.

For example:

In a now classic article published in April 1973, James Akins was already forewarning FOREIGN AFFAIRS readers to prepare for an oil crisis—long before most of us even knew what such a crisis was.

In July 1976, separatist leader René Lévesque outlined in FOREIGN AFFAIRS his program for an independent Québec, some six months before his party and program came to power.

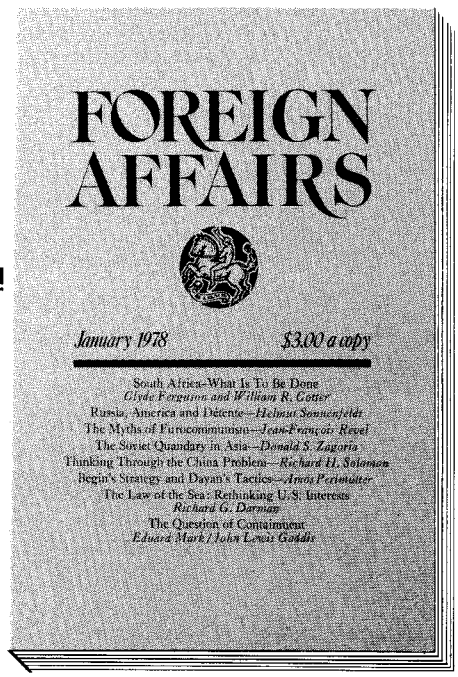
And if you'd been reading FOREIGN AFFAIRS over a year ago, Amory Lovins would have given you a precise idea of those energy options that are currently being debated in Congress.

In a word, with FOREIGN AFFAIRS you're always more knowledgeable, more aware of deep-running trends, better able to meet whatever the future may hold.

And better prepared, too, to make your own personal and professional plans accordingly.

Or course, FOREIGN AFFAIRS isn't for everyone. But since it may be just the magazine for you, why not give us a try?

We can offer you a modest introductory rate. The pledge of a refund if you're disappointed. And, above all, a rewarding new reading experience, starting with our upcoming April issue.


FOREIGN AFFAIRS
January 1978
$3.00 a copy
South Africa—What Is To Be Done
Clyde Ferguson and William R. Cotter
Russia, America and Détente—Helmut Sonnenfeldt
The Myths of Eurocommunism—Jean-François Revel
The Soviet Quandary in Asia—Donald S. Zagoria
Thinking Through the China Problem—Richard H. Solomon
Begin's Strategy and Dayan's Tactics—Amos Perlmutter
The Law of the Sea: Rethinking U.S. Interests
Richard G. Darman
The Question of Containment
Edward Mark / John Lewis Goddis

"Foreign Affairs is more than a learned journal. It is an institution, an active participant in the formation of foreign policy."
Frank Church, *United States Senator*

"I have never picked up an issue which did not tell me something I vitally needed knowing."
Harrison E. Salisbury, *Author & Editor*

"I have personally profited greatly these past months by reading the excellent selection of articles."
Clark M. Clifford, *Former Secretary of Defense*

"Foreign Affairs continues to be the leading journal in any language concerned with the international scene."
Dean Rusk, *Former Secretary of State*

"Foreign Affairs is the one indispensable journal necessary for civilized men and women who pretend to understand foreign affairs and the pressures that shape our times."
Theodore H. White, *Author of "The Making of the President"*

"Foreign Affairs has contributed to that broad national consensus on foreign policy which has sustained our country through five perilous and creative decades."
Henry A. Kissinger, *Former Secretary of State*

"Foreign Affairs has the ring of authority without the arrogance of dogmatism."
Roy Jenkins, *Chairman, European Commission (Brussels)*

"... of enormous value not only to serious students of the subject but to every concerned citizen."
Elliot L. Richardson, *Ambassador-at-Large*

"... the one *indispensable* periodical for up-to-date, thoughtful comment and analysis on foreign and international affairs."
Kingman Brewster, *Ambassador to Great Britain*

"Foreign Affairs continues to attract contributors from the English-speaking world, and also from the non-English-speaking world who wish to get across their distilled thoughts to this important readership."
Lee Kuan Yew, *Prime Minister, Singapore*

"However varied its essays in other respects, all of them seem to have in common a disregard for accepted assumptions and for conventional wisdom."
Howard K. Smith, *ABC News*

"The most influential publication in the United States."
Time Magazine

Won't You Join Us Now?

(We've made it especially easy to subscribe!)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS is too interesting a magazine for you to go on missing. So we're offering you this opportunity to get acquainted without any risk.

Simply check your preferred credit card on the Trial Subscription Coupon. Or send us a check for $8 (instead of the regular $12 price for a one-year subscription). A stunning bargain, with no strings attached. Because if you don't think FOREIGN AFFAIRS lives up to everything we say, we'll cancel your subscription and return your money. With no questions asked.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS Subscription Dept. • Box 64026 • Baltimore, Maryland 21264

For new subscribers only TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

☐ Send me one year (4 quarterly issues) of Foreign Affairs, starting with the April 1978 issue, for only $8.00. (Regular one-year price: $12.00.)

☐ Double my savings. Send two years of Foreign Affairs for only $16.00.
Prices apply to U.S. Possessions and Canada only. Elsewhere, add $2 per year for postage.

☐ Payment enclosed. (If Foreign Affairs doesn't live up to my expectations, you will cancel my subscription and return my money.)

☐ Charge for ☐ 1 Year ☐ 2 Years my
☐ American Express Card ☐ BankAmericard
☐ Master Charge

Inter Bank No. _____ (Required for Master Charge)

Charge Card No. _____

Signature _____ Credit Card Expiration Date _____

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

NR-9

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 178, No. 11, Issue 3297, March 18, 1978. Published weekly (except the issues of July 15, August 12, September 2, December 30) and distributed by The New Republic, Inc., 1220 19th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036. Phone (202) 331-7494. Single copy, $1.00; Yearly subscriptions, $24; foreign, $27; students $17.

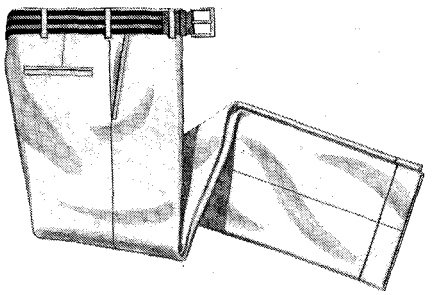
Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies and changes of address to Subscription Department, The New Republic, 205 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright 1978 by The New Republic, Inc. Item g. Second class postage paid at Washington, DC and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide.

Cover: Drawing by Mike Peters.

Contents

TRB from Washington	2	State of the Soviet Union
Comment	5	Start From Scratch Right By Accident in Africa Et tu, Marston? Civil Service Reform Poisoned Marijuana
	7	Correspondence
Colin Legum	12	Troubled Zimbabwe
Tad Szulc	14	Carter's SALT Mines
Carroll Kilpatrick	16	TRB at Eighty
John Osborne	17	White House Watch: In Jody's Shop (I)
Henry Fairlie	20	The Rise of the Press Secretary
		Arts and Lives
Stanley Kauffmann	24	Theater
James Lardner	26	Television
		Books Considered
John Kenneth Galbraith	27	Dulles by Leonard Mosley
David Caute	29	The Romance of American Communism by Vivian Gornick
Ronald Radosh	30	Labor and Communism by Bert Cochran
Frank E. Vandiver	32	In Search of the Silent South by Morton Sosna
Charles S. Maier	34	Ranke by Leonard Krieger
Robert Coles	35	Reconsideration: Jean Piaget
Diarist Abroad	42	Tales from Two Cities

Cable Car Clothiers
ROBERT KIRK, Ltd.
San Francisco's British Goods Store Since 1939



Soft Summer Flannel Slacks For Tennis, Travel $30

The revival of a 1920's classic, our handsome tennis slacks of long-wearing Orlon/Avril/polyester summer-weight flannel. Our comfortable, fully cut model, proportioned for easy fit. Belt loops, handy coin pocket, traditional straight legs subtly tapered below the knee. Ideal with a blazer for summer travel, leisure, resort wear. Soft cream colour. Waist sizes 30 to 46, inseams 28 to 36.

☐ *Please send catalogue* R1C188

Mail Orders: No. 150, Post St., S.F. Ca. 94108
Order toll free 800-227-3133. In Calif. (outside 415 area) 800-652-1494; inside 415 area, 397-7733.
Slacks(85104):Size____ Inseam____ Qty.____
Check ☐ Charge: ☐ M/C ☐ B/A ☐ Cable Car Chg.
Card #_____ Expir.____
Add $2.50 Ship., hdlg.; Cal. deliv. add sales tax
Name_____
Address_____
_____ Zip____

The Staff

Editor—*Martin Peretz*
Publisher—*Robert J. Myers*
Managing Editor—*Michael Kinsley*
Literary Editor—*Roger Rosenblatt*
Executive Editor—*Morton M. Kondracke*
Senior Editors—*John Osborne, Eliot Marshall*
Politics Editor—*Ken Bode*
Assistant to the Editors—*Gwen Somers*
Films and Theater—*Stanley Kauffmann*
Guest Poetry Editor—*Robert Fitzgerald*
Contributing Editors—*Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Henry Fairlie, Joseph Featherstone, Gerald W. Johnson, Nathan Lewin, Roger Morris, Joyce Carol Oates, John Seelye, Tad Szulc,*
Assistant Editor—*Philip Terzian*
Art Director—*Grace B. Paine*
Literary Assistant—*Catherine O'Neill*
Arts Assistant—*Constance Bond*
Circulation Manager—*Elizabeth Scanlan O'Brien*
Business Manager—*Rhonda Davis Schoem*
Assistant Business Manager—*Donna J. Melson*
Feature Syndicate Director—*Leslie B. Seagrave*
Director of Advertising—*Beth W. Newburger (202) 331-7494*
Assistant Advertising Manager—*Deborah Striner*
Classified Advertising—*Barbara Truitt*
Receptionist—*Ruby McGowan*
Production Assistant—*Barbara Ledeen*
Leadership Network Advertising—*Robert F. Sennott, Jr., New York (212) 682-4500*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

March 18, 1978

Start From Scratch

The coal crisis has provided a stunning lesson in bad leadership, the like of which we have not seen in ages. The strike is now more than three months old, coal stocks are dangerously low and the miners are in no mood to return to work. The system's breakdown is a remarkable indictment of the coal companies, the miners' union, the collective bargaining system and of a smarmy White House that prides itself on its slick management techniques.

Because the President stepped into the mess with both feet, he is the logical first target for blame. Some accuse him of not doing enough. Others say he has already done quite a lot, all wrong. Although Carter and his people certainly made mistakes, they did come late into the negotiations, long after the principal actors had set the stage for a tragedy. The President's mistakes seem bigger than others because they are made at a higher level. One expects more of him, and is more disappointed when he fails. But as long as blame is being ladled out, we think it would be a good idea to spread it around equitably.

The first dollop goes by rights to the coal companies. They made demands of the union that were unreasonable and invited trouble. By pressuring the union's leader, Arnold Miller, into signing a mean-spirited agreement, the companies guaranteed nothing other than Miller's and their own humiliation. The rank-and-file miners repudiated Miller and the bad contract he'd signed. Even pro-business voices acknowledge the coal operators' mistake. "The idea that this breakdown has occurred because of an excess of union democracy," *The Wall Street Journal* said last week, "is absurd." The *Journal* declared that "we'd have voted against the proposed contract too." Likewise, *Business Week* decided that the companies "tried to change the culture of the Appalachian coalfields through a labor contract—a goal that was, in retrospect, too ambitious from the outset."

The method by which the changes were to be made were punitive. Miners were to be fined and punished administratively (given lousy jobs) for going out on wildcat strikes, even though one must risk life and limb in Appalachia to cross a picket line. Health and pension benefits were to be decreased. The mines were to be run on Sundays for the first time. The companies offered a generous three-year pay increase, but pay was not something the miners had listed as an important issue when they were polled before the talks began. They were being asked to retreat on principles that were important to them and to take cash instead. Being independent types, they refused.

The companies apparently thought they could take advantage of the weakness of the union's leaders to force some concessions. This was a bad miscalculation. The policy was backed up with a threat: if the union resisted, it would be destroyed as a national bargaining agent. A pamphlet distributed to miners by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association last year said the challenge was "quite clear." The question is "whether or not a proud labor union will meet in good-faith bargaining with an industry and together forge a contract that will permit us to grow together, or whether we will fail, and therefore, see the decline and possible extinction of the United Mine Workers of America as a force in the national collective bargaining. The choice, gentlemen, is yours. . . ." Miners are accustomed to this kind of talk. They ignored it.

Mineworkers President Arnold Miller gets some blame too. Even before the negotiations got started, it was clear that Miller was not a popular or effective leader of the union. The point was driven home when the miners rejected his proposed contract. By failing to represent the miners' wishes accurately, Miller allowed the negotiations to wander astray and to accommodate the companies' fantastic plans. He made concessions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that he should have known would not be approved.

The Carter administration is responsible for having let the strike go on for two months before inquiring to find out what was wrong. Then after stepping in, its labor experts failed to grasp the problem. In trying to be even-handed, they sought some modest revisions in the contract that Miller had signed—not understanding that the companies already had pressed the union to the brink and beyond. Miller had given away much more than the miners would tolerate. When the painfully slow process of rank-and-file voting was over, it became clear just how badly the companies and the union leaders had miscalculated. By a margin of two-to-one the miners rejected a "compromise" contract that was somewhat less punitive than the one Miller had signed. This contract still proposed to penalize the leaders of strikes and to reduce health and pension benefits.

Once the vote was in, President Carter lost his patience. He decided the workers were threatening the national security by their insubordination, and he ordered them back to the mines. He invoked the Taft-Hartley Act, which in an emergency permits the President to obtain an injunction suspending a strike for 80 days while the negotiators cool off. Carter also declared that the talks were at an impasse, a legal move that permits the coal companies to proceed with a bust-up of the national bargaining system. Each company may now abandon the national talks and sign a local contract with its workers.

The administration's strategy is to hope that some miners will succumb to economic deprivation and return to work even though no contract has been signed. Others, it is expected, will break off from the national union and sign local contracts with their employers. In this higgledy-piggledy fashion, the government hopes to put enough miners back to work to ease the country past the immediate supply crisis. As miners see their fellows returning to work, the theory goes, they will lose spirit and go back in droves. The administration's justification for taking the hard line is that the miners are at fault this time because they rejected the "compromise" contract. Therefore they must suffer.

This approach looks like union-busting, something we would not have expected of Carter. Even if it works, which seems doubtful at this writing, it will achieve a grim, marginal kind of success that's not likely to be very helpful to the coal industry. The companies say they wish to increase productivity; this is not the way to go about it. Carter would do better, we think, to acknowledge that the miners have been ill-used. He might follow *The Wall Street Journal*'s advice: forget the history of negotiations up to this point, ask both sides to name new representatives and start over from the beginning. Last of all, Carter may as well learn to get along with miners, because they may be working for him soon.

Right By Accident in Africa

Disorderly though the process has been, the Carter administration seems to be muddling into wise policies in Africa. We are trying to use politics and proxies, rather than military meddling, to limit Soviet penetration in the Horn. And we are trying to be an active advocate of peace in Rhodesia, a place where so many others seem hell-bent for war.

Watching the Soviets and their Cuban mercenaries make inroads in Africa is a troubling, frustrating experience. We don't know whether they are operating according to some master plan or merely taking advantage of opportunities that present themselves. Nor can we be sure whether their motivation is socialist evangelism or straightforward imperialism, or both. We do not know how far they plan to go. We are nagged by the fear that our past indecisiveness may have encouraged them.

In 1975, the Soviets and Cubans made it possible for a Marxist minority to take power in Angola. Having tolerated Portuguese colonialism and ignored the liberation struggle, the last Republican administration wanted to leap in at the last minute to oppose the Soviets, but was prevented by the Democratic Congress from doing so. Did the American performance lead the Soviets and Cubans to believe they could intervene in Africa at will (as some hawks now charge)?

If so, these two nations have been reasonably circumspect in taking next steps. They have not entered anyplace—yet—without being invited. The Soviet Union tried to be a political and military benefactor for the socialist regimes of both Moslem Somalia and Christian Ethiopia, but this proved impossible. So the Soviets chose to remain allied to the larger one, Ethiopia. After spending half a billion dollars arming the Somalis, only to be kicked out, the Soviets are now spending a billion and a half on the Ethiopians. The Somalis invaded the Ogaden region—ethnically Somali but legally part of Ethiopia—using Soviet equipment, and now the Ethiopians are pushing them back out using Soviet equipment, Cuban troops and Russian advisers.

The Carter administration is rightly concerned about the Soviet presence in the Horn, but more because of what may happen next than because of what has happened so far. As of yet, the Soviets and Cubans merely are assisting Ethiopia in expelling a foreign invasion force. Within days, that will have been accomplished. The question is: will the Ethiopians then stop? US intelligence reports indicate they may continue into Somalia, which is why the Carter administration has been so insistent in urging the Soviets to restrain their allies. Administration officials believe that the warnings have had an effect. Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam has assured American diplomats that he has no intention of invading Somalia.

(continued on page 8)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Prehistoric revisionism

To the editors:

With regard to the letter by Nelson F. Hine in the March 4 issue, Mr. Hine expresses concern about "your objectivity in discussing Arabs" and chides you for describing dinosaurs as warm-blooded. *TNR* describes itself as a Journal of Politics and the Arts and is certainly entitled to its opinions, but Mr. Hine should acquaint himself with the facts. There is a growing body of evidence that dinosaurs were neither reptiles nor cold-blooded, but were indeed warm-blooded animals as stated in your magazine.

David Shander, MD
Denver, Colorado

Literary giants

To the editors:

Has anyone noticed that Haldeman's collaborator, Joseph DiMona ("A Shabby Piece of Work" by John Osborne, *TNR*, Mar. 4), was also Ann Corio's several years ago when she revealed all in *This Was Burlesque*? Poor man. It's been all downhill from Minsky's to the White House.

Doris E. Abramson
Old Salem, Massachusetts

Low on oil

To the editors:

S. Fred Singer's comments on President Carter's energy plan ("Living with Imports," *TNR*, Feb. 25) would be very appropriate and thought-provoking *if* they had been based on more reliable research. Unfortunately he based his arguments on erroneous data regarding secondary oil recovery. It is true that at least two barrels of oil remain in place for every barrel extracted, but his statement that they "remain behind because they are too expensive to pull out" is totally misleading because it implies that we can recover this oil "if the price (per barrel) is right." Wrong! The price could rise to $100 or more per barrel and we still could not pull all of the oil out. In fact, if we could get out 50 percent of the remaining oil we would indeed be fortunate, but more realistically we would recover between 30 percent and 40 percent. Therefore, Mr. Singer's implication that we can recover two barrels of oil for every one produced is in error by at least one and one-third barrels!

Even if it were possible to recover as much oil as Mr. Singer implies, his arguments fall flat because of the element of time. As we use up our declining oil supplies, what will we use for alternate energy while we wait for the slow secondary recovery processes to be implemented? What will we use while we wait for petroleum engineers to develop a workable and economically feasible method for extracting oil from oil shales and tar sands? One wonders if Mr. Singer has been brain-washed by the big oil interests who are frantically trying to tie-up other energy sources so that when the oil does dry up they will continue to be in the driver's seat as far as control of energy is concerned.

O.E. Gram
Billings, Montana

To the editors:

Apparently you don't read your own journal. Your comment, "Price and Pride," (*TNR*, Feb. 25) gives credence to the view that "petroleum and other forms of energy are both plentiful and cheap, but are being withheld from market by greedy governments (OPEC) and corporations." Yet in the same issue, Daniel Yergin ("Killjoy of the Western World," *TNR*, Feb. 25) projects that the world demand for oil points to a serious energy crisis in the middle or late 1980s, and William Metz ("Nuclear Goes Broke," *TNR*, Feb. 25) concludes that nuclear power will not be the solution to the energy problem.

In fact, geologists predict that world petroleum supplies will be exhausted in about 30 years. In the year 2010, all arguments about whether the shortage is real, the market rigged, or the price inflated, will be moot.

We must realize that our non-renewable sources of energy (hydrocarbons and uranium) will have to last until renewable sources are available. Petroleum won't last. Uranium sources are limited, and the economic and environmental hazards of nuclear power are proving its limitations as a significant source of energy. Our best bet—coal—will require difficult environmental decisions and its costs will rise as it becomes less accessible.

When a journal with the prestige of *The New Republic* endorses an erroneous Pollyanna view of our energy situation, it dangerously delays and makes even more difficult the task of choosing the right alternatives.

Nancy P. Dutro
Washington, DC

To the editors:

Your comment, "Price and Pride" was about as far off the mark as an oil rig in Central Park. What you failed to mention, and I believe is the most important "school of thought," is that your arguments are irrelevant. This planet is of finite size. Every time we use any resource there is less of it for the future *unless it is* renewable. In addition, the relentless burning of fossil fuels, even if there were an infinite supply, would utterly devastate our environment with pollutants. The issue is how and how soon can this country reduce its wasteful and greedy consumption of the world's limited petroleum resources.

Even if there were a "free, federal market" some of us would still care if the oil were running out.

Jonathan Lorch, MD
New York, New York

Humphrey's bequest

To the editors:

Eugene J. McCarthy, my old favorite, concludes ("Memories of Hubert," *TNR*, Feb. 18): "If Congress wishes to establish a political memorial for Hubert Humphrey, rather than passing the Humphrey-Hawkins Act . . . it should move to pass a constitutional amendment eliminating the office of vice president."

I do not think Hubert Humphrey would have considered abolishing the vice presidency a significant aid to the people, nor would he have considered such a constitutional amendment an appropriate political memorial. Humphrey wanted the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act passed. "With the Full Employment and Balance Growth

(continued on page 38)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Ethiopian invasion would put the Soviet Union for the first time on the side of open aggression in Africa. It would force the United States to decide how deeply and directly to become involved. It would also put Africa on notice that the Soviets have no respect whatever for the principle of territorial integrity they now claim to be helping to defend in the Ogaden. Presumably, the United States would lift its embargo on arms aid to Somalia and give Saudi Arabia and Iran the okay to use American-supplied weapons to help repel the Ethiopian invasion.

The Soviets probably are too smart to permit an Ethiopian invasion. They are more likely to concentrate on making Ethiopia into a solid Soviet ally and base, perhaps converting the Red Sea port of Massawa into a replacement for their lost Indian Ocean naval base at Berbera in Somalia. In return, it seems likely that the Ethiopians will insist that the Soviets and Cubans help them battle the Moslem insurgency in Eritrea. If so, the Eritrean guerrilla conflict might prove as absorbing and as futile for the Communist interlopers as Vietnam's civil war was for us. And we would not have to lift a finger to aid the Eritrean rebels. That is already being done by Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the Sudan.

The establishment of Soviet and Cuban bases in Ethiopia implicitly threatens those three Arab countries as well as our own Persian Gulf oil supplies. But the same threat existed when the Soviets were ensconced in Somalia. We would rather that it did not exist, but the Soviet presence in Ethiopia offers us opportunities to cement our relations with the Saudis, Egyptians and Sudanese. We also can give aid to Somalia. But before giving arms we must be sure Somalia will not use them either to return to the Ogaden or to attack Kenya to the south. The Ethiopian government will remain politically indebted to Moscow and Havana, probably to the exclusion of good relations with the United States. But we are not barred from trying to make things as good as they can be, in the hope that one day Ethiopia, like Egypt and Somalia, will decide that the Soviets are more a burden than a help. By remaining neutral during the Ogaden invasion, the Carter administration has been doing what it can toward this end.

The actual military threat posed by the Soviet and Cuban presence in the Horn is less dangerous than the perceptions and precedents it seems to create. The Carter administration fears that African and Middle East nations will get the idea that the Soviet Union can move in Africa without encountering any US resistance. The administration also seems to fear that the Soviet Union may get the the same idea and be tempted to try other adventures. To counteract these tendencies, the administration has revived the old Kissinger concept of "linkage," creating disputes among its own officials.

By employing "linkage" in this case means that the administration has expressed it displeasure with Soviet involvement in the Ogaden by breaking off US-Soviet talks on demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and by flashing a threat—in the form of a press statement by Zbigniew Brzezinski—that even strategic arms talks may be affected. It would be a mistake for the administration actually to stop talking to the Soviets about nuclear weapons on account of their actions so far in the Horn. The SALT talks are too important on their own merits and as the keystone of US-Soviet relations to be terminated now. It also would have been a mistake for the administration to persist in Brzezinski-like threats, and it would not have been credible. If we would consider breaking off SALT negotiations over the Horn, what could we threaten to do in the event of a really serious Soviet breach of the peace?

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Defense Secretary Harold Brown and even President Carter all jumped to make it clear they didn't go as far as Brzezinski. But Brzezinski's linkage exercise was still useful, putting the Soviets on notice that in the Executive Branch as well as in Congress there are powerful figures whose distrust of Soviet intentions is at a critical point. It is an unavoidable fact that a US-Soviet arms treaty would be in serious trouble in the Senate if introduced now for ratification. Any new adventurism by the Soviets in Africa might guarantee defeat for any SALT II treaty.

The administration is especially concerned that the Soviets and Cubans will intervene in Rhodesia. To avoid giving them an opportunity—and also to bring about a peaceful solution for its own sake—the administration has been less than enthusiastic about the internal settlement worked out between Prime Minister Ian Smith and black moderates. In another example of intra-administration disorder, United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young has been condemning the settlement while State Department spokesmen have been pronouncing it a useful beginning.

The muddled US position again serves a useful purpose. Andy Young is showing those who oppose the settlement—the front-line African states and Patriotic Front guerrillas—that he, at least, shares their view that it is inadequate. The official administration position is that, with improvement, the agreement can work. The US is seeking changes that will encourage Patriotic Front guerrilla leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe to join the peace-making process. Nkomo is the leader most likely to receive massive Soviet-Cuban assistance in the event of a complete breakdown of peace hopes. The pressure created by Nkomo's guerrillas is partly responsible for Smith's willingness to turn power over to blacks, and so he is entitled to be included in the peace negotiations.

The administration has come under fire for not embracing the internal settlement, but there is no need to do so yet—especially not while Ian Smith is still in power. If we have done all we can to accomplish a set-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tlement that includes the Patriotic Front, but Joshua Nkomo still refuses to participate, then the onus for war will be placed on his head and on the heads of those who assist him.

Et tu, Marston?

When he was US Attorney for Philadelphia, David Marston did a commendable job of digging into the corrupt business of the city machine. Marston is a Republican and a former aide to Pennsylvania Senator Richard Schweiker. It was no surprise that Marston's lash fell almost never on the backs of local Republicans. His 18-month crusade was a scrupulously nonpartisan attack on the other party, culminating to his great advantage in his own firing by a Democratic President. It seemed a perfect exit. Then the other day a whiff of Republican scandal blew across his achievements.

The New York Times, citing an unnamed "key government informer," reported that Marston was accused of being one of the people who helped get approval for federal grants that later became the subject of his investigation. According to the *Times*'s informant, Marston worked on legislation providing $14.5 million to Philadelphia's Hahnemann Hospital when he was on Senator Schweiker's staff. Marston was said to have been present at a meeting on May 12, 1975 in the office of then Senator Hugh Scott, the Republican minority leader. Also present were Schweiker, former Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton, Representative Dan Flood (the lone Democrat) and staff assistants. Two projects discussed in that meeting later received congressional approval and then came under scrutiny as part of the investigation into bribery of Pennsylvania politicians. The Hahnemann Hospital project was not discussed then, but according to the *Times*, it was handled in a similar fashion by the Pennsylvania delegation. Marston was among those who eased it through the Senate.

Marston, who announced last week that he will run for governor of Pennsylvania, emphatically denied that he had anything to do with "health care" while on Schweiker's staff. He remembered that there was a meeting on May 12, 1975, but not that he had any part in it. Schweiker couldn't remember which of his aides went with him to the meeting. Hugh Scott, the most intriguing participant, failed to return a telephone inquiry last week. Scott's part in the episode is critical, because if anyone could claim to be the godfather of the Pennsylvania delegation at the time, it was he. Scott's law firm—Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell & Hippel—was collecting legal fees from Hahnemann Hospital while Scott was in the Senate and the hospital was trying to secure federal funds. (The senator retired in 1976, somewhat compromised by the fact that his name had appeared on a list of regular money-takers drawn up by a Gulf Oil agent.) Hahnemann eventually fired Scott's firm and hired another in its place—the firm of Democratic congressman Joshua Eilberg. Marston was investigating Eilberg, Flood and the payments made to Eilberg's law firm when he was booted out of office. He was not investigating Hugh Scott.

Philadelphia has gone for two months without a US Attorney, and the cases developed by Marston are gradually going stale. One of the key witnesses for the government—Flood's aid, Stephen Elko—no longer seems as reliable as he did a few weeks ago, and the possibility of winning a conviction based on his testimony is slipping away.

The Justice Department can best make up for its botched handling of Marston's removal by finding a replacement quickly and getting on with the task. It would be refreshing, too, to have a nonpartisan inquiry into Republican involvement in the hospital funding business. But the Justice Department, moving with glacial speed, cannot predict when it will nominate Marston's successor.

Civil Service Reform

President Carter's proposed Civil Service reform plan is a tepid enough effort to make federal government employment less like a return to the womb and more like a "job" in the traditional sense of productive activity for reasonable compensation. If this reform goes the way of Carter's tax plan, welfare plan, energy plan, etc., there should be no doubt where to lay the blame: with Congress. Over the past year the congressional leadership has blamed its own lethargy and cowardice on the administration's alleged failure to "work with" Congress. Congress likes easily digestible proposals that do not offend any special interest. Carter's refusal to provide this pablum, it has come to be accepted, proves that he is an incompetent leader. The Civil Service proposal is less objectionable on these grounds; Carter pre-digested it, and sifted out all the rough parts. If the patient can't keep this down, it's time to pull the plug.

One set of reforms is intended to encourage efficiency among higher-level civil servants by use of financial incentives. But these provisions carefully avoid any offense to those who don't wish to rise to the challenge. The 9200 or so top executive-branch positions (not counting cabinet secretaries and the like) would be filled by something called the "Senior Executive Service," a floating corps of administrators who can be assigned wherever they are needed. Instead of regular raises based on longevity and "comparability" (the government's euphemism for inflation indexing of its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own payroll), these executives would be eligible for bonuses based on good performance. They also could be dropped from the "SES" for unsatisfactory performance. The next large chunk of the federal payroll, 72,000 "managers and supervisors," also will have part of their annual guaranteed raise converted into a bonus system based on performance. These changes are supposed to make the top level of the government resemble that of a well-run corporation. There are some differences, however. No civil servant now holding a job intended for the Senior Executive Service will be forced to join it, if he or she prefers the more traditional arrangements. In the future, 90 percent of these positions will be reserved for career civil servants—approximately the proportion that have them now. If these people are dropped from the "SES," they simply return to the regular civil service where they have job tenure. No one's career will be on the line.

A second set of changes is intended to make it easier to fire incompetents. The Office of Management and Budget's 21-foot-long chart of what it takes to axe a federal employee has been photographed by all the leading news media. Under Carter's proposal it will be possible for a government manager to fire a subordinate in a mere 120 days (excluding appeals to the courts), rather than the months or even years it now takes.

This aspect of the reorganization—rather typically—will involve splitting the Civil Service Commission into two new organizations. One, an "Office of Personnel Management" under the President, will concern itself with government efficiency. The other, an independent "Merit Systems Protection Board," will protect the rights of federal employees by reviewing firings, protecting whistleblowers, etc. There is an alleged "conflict of interest" within the current Civil Service Commission between the desire for government efficiency and the protection of employee rights. The obvious solution to any lawyer—and most of Carter's reorganizers are lawyers—is to create an adversary arrangement. Creative tension between these two agencies presumably will assure that the government does not become too efficient, thereby endangering the rights of its employees.

A third major reform is the scaling back of veterans' preference. This is the least grandiose-sounding but the most significant of all—and therefore the one least likely to make it through Congress. Under current law anyone who has ever served in the armed forces is given preferential treatment in getting a civilian government job, getting promotions and avoiding layoffs. Oddly enough, this departure from the merit principle has stirred barely a whiff of protest, while any suggestion of preferential treatment for disadvantaged minorities touches off a storm. Veterans' preference is no minor departure, either: more than half of all federal civilian employees are veterans, and more than 65 percent of those in the highest-paid jobs. As this journal reported a year ago, 142,000 of these veterans are "double dippers," collecting military pensions while enjoying a second government paycheck as federal employees.

President Carter proposes to limit the veterans' preference in hiring to 10 years after discharge, surely an adequate time to complete the readjustment to civilian society. He would cut it back to three years for low-ranking veterans who have retired with a pension, and eliminate it completely for high-ranking retirees who enjoy both extravagant pensions and lucrative opportunities in the private sector. He also would reduce somewhat the preferential treatment veterans enjoy after they have joined the civil service. Preference for Vietnam-era veterans and disabled veterans will be retained, and even increased.

Veterans' groups already are gearing up to defeat any change in this treasured perk. It will be a nice little test of whether Congress has the backbone to endorse any reform—however evidently sensible—that threatens any organized group. The administration skillfully deflated potential opposition to its reforms from the largest federal employee union—the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO—by including the creation of a third new agency, a "Federal Labor Relations Authority." This board will supervise—and presumably encourage—collective bargaining for federal employees.

Taken together, these reforms hardly are calculated to transform the federal government. They do little to attract to government service the kind of people *The Washington Monthly* (which has been attacking flab and lethargy in the Civil Service for a decade) calls "dynamic risk-takers." President Carter long ago guaranteed that no federal employee would be fired or demoted as a result of his reorganization. Nothing in these reforms addresses the question of whether a particular government job—deputy assistant policy coordinator, special executive liaison officer or whatnot—is providing a useful service to the taxpayers. Thousands are not. The creation of three new agencies will do nothing to reduce the size and complexity of the federal bureaucracy. And of course these proposed reforms do not touch the high and inflation-proof salaries, the overgenerous pensions, the exemption from social security taxes and the job security that are turning federal employees into a uniquely privileged class in the diseased US economy.

Next Week:
Nick Kotz on the
two faces of Plains, Georgia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nevertheless, President Carter has presented Congress with a thoughtful, if limited, solution to some obvious problems. The executive branch has exercised its responsibility properly. Now the legislature must demonstrate that it has not abandoned its own.

Poisoned Marijuana

Every year more than 2500 tons of Mexican marijuana finds its way into the United States, accounting for perhaps 70 percent of the total consumed here. In analysing samples of marijuana seized in major drug busts in the southwest since October 1976, the National Institute for Drug Abuse has discovered that more than 20 percent is contaminated by a chemical called paraquat, which is a toxic defoliant.

Where the chemical is coming from is no secret. It is traceable directly to a program jointly conceived by the Mexican government and US drug enforcement advisers under which opium and marijuana fields in Mexico are sprayed from helicopters with paraquat and other agricultural herbicides similar, and in some instances identical, to those used to defoliate the jungle during the Vietnam war. As in Southeast Asia, hidden marijuana and opium fields are located by infrared aerial photography.

The program was originally designed to destroy Mexican opium, which is the source of about 5000 pounds of heroin each year. According to the State Department, spraying marijuana as well was entirely the idea of the Mexicans. To be sure, the chemical paraquat is highly effective in eradicating marijuana—*if* the plants are allowed to sit in the sunlight and open air for a day or two after spraying while the herbicide does its work. But the Mexican peasants who cultivate the stuff in inaccessible mountain fields are inspired by a stiff entrepreneurial spirit. After the helicopters depart, they simply hustle out and harvest the freshly sprayed plants, immediately squeezing the leaves into bricks before decomposition can begin. Thus more and more frequently the marijuana that is sold in this country has the poisonous chemical in it.

It's not clear just how harmful marijuana laced with paraquat is. According to the February 24 issue of *Science* magazine, which has carried the most thorough examination of the problem to date, the paraquat label states that one swallow can kill and there is no known antidote. According to *Science*, "ingestion or inhalation of one-tenth of an ounce is sufficient to damage major internal organs and result in a painful death after 24 hours."

However, NIDA testing of paraquat-laden marijuana—ordered by President Carter's Special Assistant for Health Issues, Peter Bourne—indicated that at the levels of concentration initially found on the imported samples, no hazardous amount was likely to be inhaled as part of the smoke from a marijuana cigarette nor a lethal amount ingested by eating marijuana cookies or brownies. But levels of paraquat concentration have increased dramatically in dope from recent seizures—up from six to 50 parts per million to highs of 2000 per million. Furthermore, no one really knows whether there is any harmful effect from ingesting amounts too small to make you ill on the spot. The Environmental Protection Agency has warned that the chemical can cause birth defects, and all the concentration of paraquat turned up in the Mexican marijuana greatly exceed the tolerance levels set by that agency.

Dr. Lester Grinspoon of Harvard Medical School, the author of *Marijuana Reconsidered*, points out, "There's no way for a consumer to know that his grass is poisoned or by how much. Nor is there any way to complain about it, because the government is putting the poison in. Whatever needs to be done to reverse this should be done immediately. The Drug Enforcement Agency should move to stop the spraying program."

Peter Bourne of the White House takes a more casual view. "I'm not sure there's any demonstrable health hazard of any consequence," he says. "People who disagree with that do so on a largely emotional basis without any scientific substantiation. I mean, we have nobody coming into hospital emergency rooms with toxic effects."

People also disagree about how much the US government is responsible for the marijuana spraying. The official State Department position is that the entire operation is Mexican and it is important for their local politics that it be perceived to be so. We provide funds only for *opium* eradication. The Mexicans extended it to marijuana on their own, almost as a favor to us, it would seem. "Right now they are spending an inordinate amount of their resources on a project that essentially benefits the US," a State Department official told *Science*. "We don't want to disturb that." State also insists that we have no direct influence over the choice of herbicides used in the program.

On the other hand, over the past five years, the US government has provided $40 million in direct funding for the program, most of which has gone for the purchase of helicopters and other aircraft for spraying and reconnaissance. We've also trained aviators and mechanics, actually operating the infrared photographic equipment and advised in the use of chemicals. Drug Enforcement Administration officials often accompany Mexicans on the flights. The State Department has asserted that we allow the Mexicans to use the helicopters to spray marijuana only because we would have to maintain them in the poppy offseason anyway.

Opinions differ about what obligations the US government now has in all this. The National Organization for Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML) believes that all US involvement should be stopped

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

until it is conclusively proved that the chemicals used in *both* the poppy and marijuana programs are not putting poisons into grass or heroin consumed in this country. Illinois Senator Charles Percy, who has kept a constant pressure on government drug enforcement authorities for nearly a year takes a similar, if softer, position. Percy says, "The United States government has a responsibility to ensure that its actions do not foreseeably endanger the health and safety of *any* of its citizens, drug users included."

At the other end of the spectrum, some US drug enforcement officials believe that the government has no obligations whatever: marijuana is illegal and the government has no responsibility to assure that illegal activities are safe. But if there is some danger, it is the direct result of US-supported spraying operations. That much even Peter Bourne is prepared to concede. Does that imply any further obligation? "I don't think so," Bourne says. "If the risk exists the guy still has the option not to smoke the grass to begin with."

As far as the Carter White House is concerned, the little matter of poisonous paraquat on Mexican marijuana is "not a policy question." The US government does not intend to suspend the spraying program, or even to recommend to the Mexicans that safer chemicals be used. It has done little to publicize the potential danger since it was discovered. Bourne says, "It's a health issue comparable to cigarettes, and we have instructed HEW accordingly."

The Salisbury agreement marks the end of Ian Smith's white rebellion. But the US and Britain are right not to endorse it.

Troubled Zimbabwe

What happened in Salisbury, Rhodesia, on March 3 was a defeat for the white rebellion begun in 1965 by Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front. But it is not yet a victory for a truly independent and, one hopes, democratic Zimbabwe.

The white rebels' proclaimed aim was to ensure, for all time, the retention of government in "civilized hands"—a euphemism for continued minority rule by the quarter of a million white Rhodesians over the eight million black Zimbabweans. Until quite recently, Smith still was arrogantly affirming that he did not foresee majority rule "in my lifetime, or in that of my children." Now he not only has put his signature on surrender terms that provide for majority rule by the end of this year but, more remarkably, has agreed to cooperate in bringing it about.

One of the other signatories to the agreement is the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, who was sentenced to six years in prison for planning to have Smith killed. The other two "moderate" black signatories are Bishop Abel Muzorewa—an ardent foe of the Smith regime—and Chief Chirau, who was for many years a loyal collaborator of the white rebels.

Many will respect Ian Smith's decision to reverse himself completely and to work *for* the achievement of an objective he had so strenuously and brutally opposed. Others will be inclined to look more closely at his motives. They will suspect that, having failed to achieve his aim by one means, he may now simply be engaged in trying to assert continued white control through "black collaborators." But whichever view one takes of Smith's intentions, there can be no doubt that the white rebellion has failed, and that Smith has been compelled to acknowledge its failure.

Can the Salisbury agreement reached without the Patriotic Front bring peace and independence to the new Zimbabwe? My own view is that it marks the beginning of the road toward ending white rule in Rhodesia, but that the distance still remaining to be covered might prove to be even more dangerous and bloody than anything that has gone before.

Much depends on the policies of the United States and Britain in the next few weeks. There are strong pressures in London for the British government to give its full support to the Salisbury agreement and to repudiate the Patriotic Front, led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. Similar pressures can be expected in Washington. If the British and American governments were to give in to these pressures, they might well be responsible for creating turmoil comparable to what is going on in the Horn of Africa—with possibly even graver consequences.

Although the Salisbury agreement—with its acknowledgment of the principle of majority rule—is a milestone in the Rhodesian struggle, it does not provide the conditions necessary for a peaceful or durable solution. These three essential prerequisites are the ending of the violent armed struggle; the calling off of international economic sanctions; and free elections *before independence* to enable all Rhodesians, white and black, to choose their own leaders.

The armed struggle can be ended only if the Patriotic Front, which controls the guerrillas, accepts the terms of a settlement. Since the Front is not a party to the agreement reached in Salisbury, and in fact is strongly opposed to many aspects of it, the fighting is bound to continue. As long as it does, there is no possible way of holding free elections. Even if an attempt were made to hold elections, the results would be robbed of any validity if the Patriotic Front had played no part in them. The principle of majority rule would be vitiated if the election excluded nationalist leaders who claim to represent—at the very least—a considerable part of the black electorate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rhodesia's present parlous state is due as much to its economic troubles as to the effects of the guerrilla battle. There is no way of rescuing the economy unless the program of international sanctions is called off. These sanctions originally were imposed by Britain, but they subsequently were endorsed by the United Nations Security Council under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter. This makes them ostensibly mandatory for all UN member states. Only the Security Council can lift the sanctions, and there appears no earthly chance of its agreeing to do so while the Patriotic Front remains opposed to the Salisbury agreement.

Clearly, therefore, none of the three prerequisites for peace in Rhodesia can be achieved unless the Patriotic Front is included in the final settlement. In recognition of this reality, the British and American governments have so far continued with their difficult task of trying to get the internal talks between Smith and the 'moderate' black Rhodesians merged with the external talks which they have been conducting with the Patriotic Front.

It is not difficult to foresee what would happen if London and Washington were to give way to pressures to embrace the Salisbury agreement and to abandon the Patriotic Front. Not only would the guerrilla struggle continue, but the scale of fighting would escalate sharply. This would happen for two reasons: first, because the Patriotic Front no longer would feel any constraint about accepting larger and more direct support and involvement from the Soviet bloc and the Cubans. The Russians already supply arms to the Front and the Chinese provide military training. The Cubans recently have begun a large-scale military training program in Angola for the 10,000 guerrilla volunteers recruited by Joshua Nkomo's wing of the Patriotic Front. In anticipation of an enlarged war, it is likely that Mozambique and Zambia would invite the Russians and the Cubans to help protect their borders from the kind of attacks they have had to endure from Rhodesian forces crossing into their territory.

The second reason for supposing that the fighting would escalate is that the African Front-line states—Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola, which have been cooperating closely with the Anglo-American initiative to negotiate a settlement between the Smith regime and the Patriotic Front—would regard any Western endorsement of the Salisbury agreement as a betrayal. They would throw their full political and military support behind the guerrilla struggle in order to resist the consolidation of the Smith-Muzorewa-Sithole-Chirau "interim government."

Thus endorsement of Ian Smith's agreement would turn friendly African governments into bitter opponents of the United States and Britain. This hostility would not be restricted only to the Front-line states. It would also come from most members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) including, especially, Nigeria. The Western nations could then find themselves engaged in a bitter conflict with much of Africa—not just in the conflict over Rhodesia, but also over Namibia and South Africa. This would open up new opportunities for the Soviets and the Cubans to appear as the friends of Africa against the West. Such an alignment could decisively affect the future course of events right across the continent.

There is still another dangerous element in the new situation created by the Salisbury agreement. With Africans sharing the responsibility of government in Rhodesia, the power rivalries between Sithole and Muzorewa on the one side, and Nkomo and Mugabe on the other, would inevitably provoke a civil war among black Rhodesians themselves. Thousands of guerrillas already have entered Rhodesia and are spread in cells throughout the countryside mainly in the so-called tribal territories. They are able to conceal their presence and to get protection after making local attacks only because they can count on the support of the black population. But once the rival black leaders come into direct conflict, the guerrillas would be forced to take sides; those who opt for the Patriotic Front would be exposed and hounded by the supporters of Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau. A bitter inter-black war would become inevitable.

It is difficult to see how such a civil war can be averted once the "moderate" black leaders begin to assume responsibility in government, and therefore acquire a direct stake in defending their new power base. Muzorewa and Sithole discount this danger by claiming that, once they take office, the great majority of guerrillas—especially those already inside Rhodesia—will rally to their side. It is impossible for anybody to know at this stage how the guerrillas will, in fact, respond to this new situation; but it appears rather sanguine to expect that any large number, let alone the great majority, will change sides overnight and support the government. If they do, then of course the Patriotic Front will quickly crumble; but if they don't, then a civil war—as occurred in Angola on the eve of its independence in 1975—seems certain.

For all these reasons, the present stage of developments in Rhodesia appear to hold more dangers than anything we have yet seen in Southern Africa. And this is why it is so critically important that the United States

Coming:

A dispatch from the white rebellion in Queens.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Britain should not make any false steps by reacting overenthusiastically to the Salisbury agreement. It should be welcomed as an important step forward, but not as the basis for a final, acceptable settlement.

Colin Legum

Colin Legum is associate editor of *The Observer* of London, and editor of the *Africa Contemporary Record.*

Our policy toward the Soviet Union is full of contradictions.

Carter's SALT Mines

In the most important area of US foreign policy—relations with the Soviet Union—a divided Carter administration is bogging down in contradictions and inconsistencies. At a time when the Russians are striking an increasingly challenging international stance, the Carter administration's performance suffers from mismanagement and general confusion. The White House and the State Department have different views on how to deal with Moscow; there is no sense of a coherent American policy.

These developments have brought the US-Soviet relationship to the lowest point since former President Nixon and Chairman Brezhnev invented *detente* nearly six years ago. We are now seriously at odds with the Russians over strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), Soviet military deployments in central Europe, the Horn of Africa, Rhodesia, the Middle East and human rights.

The recent Soviet militance in several areas of the world is perfectly consistent with the Soviet Union's overall approach to international affairs. The White House should not be so surprised about it. There is nothing new in the build-up of Warsaw Pact forces; it was noticed early in 1976, and the subsequent deployment of the new medium-range SS-20 nuclear missile fits logically into this previously noted build-up. Moscow's decision to join with Cuba in intervening on Ethiopia's side in the war with Somalia was the kind of tempting opportunity (even more than Angola in 1975) that the Russians could not resist. The US should have understood this a year ago; thoughtful diplomatic action at the time would have spared Carter the present controversy of linking the Horn of Africa with SALT.

Let us start with SALT. In March 1977, President Carter dispatched Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to Moscow with proposals for a second SALT agreement so far-reaching that even senior White House officials privately acknowledged at the time that they were unacceptable to Brezhnev. Carter, however, scored political points with conservatives as well as liberals at home: the Vance package had something for both sides in the Senate, which must ratify SALT II. But it was a short-lived achievement. In September, Soviet and American negotiators in Geneva produced the framework of an agreement that, upon being leaked to the press, brought forth cries of protest from the conservatives that the US national interest was being betrayed. The conservatives were bothered not only by the fact that the administration had abandoned most of the Vance package, but also more specifically by its willingness to limit the permissible range of the lethally accurate air-delivered cruise missile. They also were upset that the proposed treaty did not include a Soviet commitment not to use the intercontinental Backfire bomber on strategic missions. They felt that there were no adequate guarantees against excessive modernization of heavy Soviet missiles.

Carter, however, was so encouraged by the Geneva draft that he publicly promised the signing of SALT II before the end of 1977, something that was outside the realm of reality, given the many remaining serious problems in the negotiations. This was one of Carter's many careless foreign policy pronouncements.

In the new year, the administration veered between optimism and expressions of dissatisfaction with the Soviet position in Geneva. On March 1, for example, national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski said at a background briefing that Moscow must make more concessions if it wanted a SALT treaty. This was after the President had predicted a month or so earlier that the agreement would be completed by the end of the spring.

Why the contradictions? Senior officials have suggested that Brzezinski—who has become the administration's chief foreign policy spokesman, pushing Vance and Paul C. Warnke, the principal SALT negotiator, into something resembling public oblivion—had decided that the time had come again to take a hard-line position for domestic political reasons. It was at the same briefing that Brzezinski, in effect, linked the SALT negotiations and Senate ratification to the Soviet behavior in the Horn of Africa. White House Press Secretary Jody Powell said later in the day that Brzezinski had accurately conveyed the President's own thoughts.

Carter himself stated at his news conference on March 2 that Soviet failure to observe neutrality in the Horn area "would lessen the confidence of the American people in the word and peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union, would make it more difficult to ratify a SALT agreement . . . and therefore the two are linked because of the actions by the Soviets." He added: "We don't initiate the linkage."

Brzezinski's and Carter's pronouncements caused

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

considerable dismay among Washington foreign policy professionals for several reasons. The first one was the question of SALT itself. It is no longer an administration secret that there is no likelihood of Senate approval of a strategic pact in its present form this year. It is again an election year and the Panama treaties will have exhausted whatever policy support Carter still enjoys on the Hill.

There is suspicion, therefore, that the White House has been exaggerating the problems in SALT negotiations—and linking them to developments in the Horn of Africa—in order to indefinitely delay the signing of an agreement and to spare itself the embarrassment of a Senate rejection. Senior officials, in fact, have refused to discuss with their own working-level subordinates the question of whether and when SALT II would be submitted to the Senate if it is signed this year.

Even some US officials question Brzezinski's contention that it is Moscow's turn to make SALT concessions. In the last six months, they say, most of the concessions were made by the Soviet Union while White House instructions were to obtain even more.

For example, Moscow has agreed that all missiles of any type should be included in the proposed ceiling on multiple-warhead MIRV missiles, once any missile of that type has been so equipped. (This was a major point of contention between former President Ford and Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974.) Meanwhile, the US recently decided it wanted to increase the permissible range of the cruise missile from the limit it had accepted earlier. The US now contends that the ceiling should be raised to include the additional mileage that the terrain-hugging US cruise missile would cover on its zig-zag course toward its target.

The Russians have not yet developed their own cruise missile. They had accepted the B-52 bomber as the delivery vehicle for the US cruise missile; the US is holding out for use of the jumbo Boeing 747 and the C-5. The Soviets worry that the jumbos would simply carry too many cruise missiles for comfort.

Whatever the intrinsic merit of these SALT positions—many experts believe them to be justified—many US officials deplore the administration's tactics. They think the administration is misleading public opinion and complicating the Geneva negotiations. Looking back at the history of SALT negotiations under Carter, one official said, "You can't negotiate by changing your position from March to September and then again from September to next March, and keep raising the ante to keep the conservatives at home happy."

On March 3, the President compounded the confusion surrounding SALT by saying that a meeting with Brezhnev might be necessary to break the deadlock. But in the view of professionals, the Russians are unlikely to agree to a summit with Carter in the present state of US-Soviet relations.

The linkage between SALT and the Horn of Africa is also regarded by professionals, especially in the State Department, as a policy error. Secretary Vance, in particular, was opposed to it. At a Congressional hearing after Brzezinski's first linkage comment, Vance said that no such linkage existed. But a day later, he was contradicted by Carter's own statement.

State Department officials believe that even though the Russians apparently underestimated the White House reaction to their involvement with the Cubans in Ethiopia, a linkage with SALT was diplomatic overkill. They doubt the wisdom of turning the Horn of Africa affair into a fundamental US-Soviet showdown unless the Russians and the Cubans actually cross the Somali border.

There is total agreement within the administration that Moscow should be discouraged from African adventures, but State Department officials fear that linkage with SALT will paint the US into a diplomatic corner. Is Carter prepared to interrupt the Geneva talks if the Russians and the Cubans refuse to get out of Ethiopia? Vance's advice to the President was to penalize the Russians for their African actions by suspending a series of economic agreements that Moscow regards as highly important, rather than to bring SALT prematurely into the picture. Carter, however, chose the hard-line approach, which may escalate tensions and diminish the chances for a peaceful settlement in the Horn.

Having brought the Soviets back into Middle East diplomacy last October with the joint declaration on the need for a Geneva conference, the US is now satisfied to be the sole mediator in the new context of the Sadat-Begin negotiations. Moscow, to be sure, refused to be drawn into the new Middle Eastern diplomacy, but many officials are worried about the Soviet reaction. The massive rearming of Syria is a case in point.

On human rights, many officials believe that the administration was wrong in accepting a final statement at the European security conference in Belgrade this month without any reference to the human rights obligations contained in the 1975 Helsinki declaration by the same group. They argue that having ostensibly based its foreign policy on defense of human rights, the Carter administration should have made a major issue of it in Belgrade—even at the risk of ending the conference without any statement. As it is, Carter's credibility on this point has been jeopardized.

Obviously both governments attach great importance to the US-Soviet relationship yet both are acting in a way certain to damage it. Under the aging Brezhnev leadership, the Soviet Union is unnecessarily challenging the west in many areas. But President Carter's frustrations after his first year in office should not be an excuse for conducting an equally erratic policy.

Tad Szulc

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our own grey eminence.

TRB at Eighty

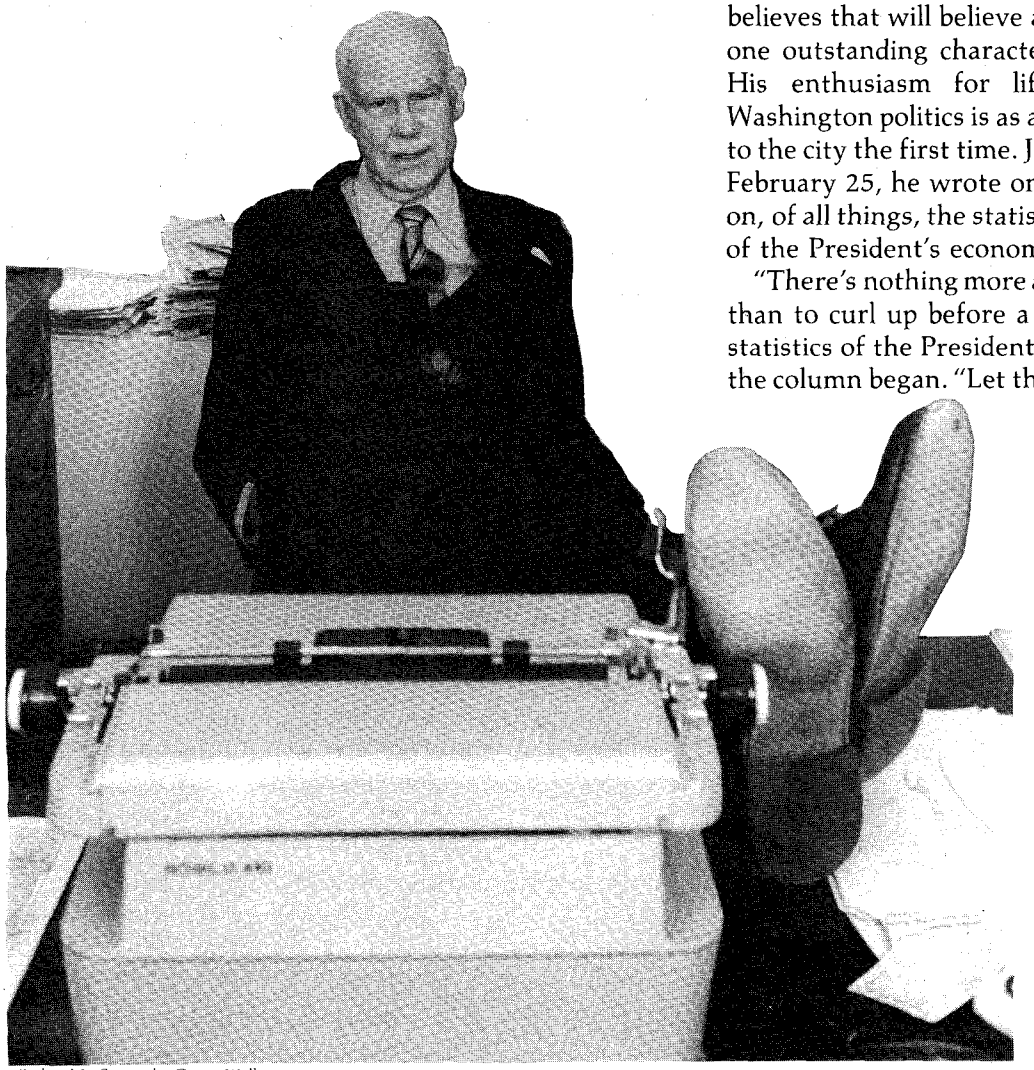
More than a half century ago a young and eager newspaperman arrived in Washington. At about this time Bruce Bliven, then editor of *The New Republic*, was taking one of his weekly subway rides from his office in Manhattan (where *TNR* was then published) to Brooklyn to deliver copy to the printer. Bliven had in his pocket a new political column from Frank R. Kent, a Washington correspondent of *The Baltimore Sun*. The column was to be anonymous and Bliven had puzzled over how to sign it. As he rode the lurching train and pondered his problem, his eyes fell on a placard bearing the subway name—BRT, for Brooklyn Rapid Transit. Bliven reversed the initials and signed the new column TRB. It has been a fixture in this journal ever since. Today it is one of the most widely read and respected columns of opinion in America, and is reprinted in 60 newspapers.

Frank Kent was a fighting liberal in those days. After all, he fought Prohibition and he regularly attacked Calvin Coolidge. He was a slashing writer who believed that nearly all government was bad and all bureaucrats were miserable sinners. When Franklin Roosevelt reached Washington, Kent, in the *Sun*, became one of the New Deal's most acid critics, as might be expected of a good friend of Henry Mencken.

Other writers also were called in to contribute the TRB column. Kenneth Crawford, later a columnist for *Newsweek*, was one of the notable contributors in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Then, in 1943, the young man who had left New England for Washington about the time Bliven launched the column tried his hand. It has been his ever since, except for times off for vacation, for travel and for covering the Normandy invasion.

Every editor knows that the enthusiasm and imagination of youth make a newspaper or magazine sparkle. Richard L. Strout, who writes TRB every week on long sheets of white paper, is that youthful person. His long legs propel him about Washington every day with a speed that many of his colleagues find exhausting. Few can match his ability to digest masses of government documents and to see through every false argument. There is a report, obviously false, that Dick Strout is eighty years old this month. As the Duke of Wellington, standing in full dress uniform, said when someone addressed him as Mr. Smith: "Sir, anyone who believes that will believe anything." If Dick Strout has one outstanding characteristic it is his youthfulness. His enthusiasm for life and for the drama of Washington politics is as alive as it was the day he came to the city the first time. Just last month, in the issue of February 25, he wrote one of his sprightliest columns on, of all things, the statistics he, and he alone, dug out of the President's economic report.

"There's nothing more agreeable on a winter evening than to curl up before a good fire with the tables of statistics of the President's Annual Economic Report," the column began. "Let the gale howl. Let the snow fall. I have here Table B-28." That beginning might have sent many of his readers out into the snow for a breath of fresh air. But, knowing TRB, the majority must have kept on reading. There followed a dramatic and entertaining interpretation of those figures in human terms. Dick Strout did not see the dull statistics. He saw the human beings, the farmers, the workers, the blacks, the women, whose biographies were encompassed in those figures. He found sex, humor, sadness and hope in what he read. Did any other reporter find so much and report it with



Richard L. Strout by Diana Walker

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such style?

One day early in the Nixon administration, John Ehrlichman invited Strout to his office to ask for advice. Ehrlichman is a Christian Scientist who had come to appreciate Strout's factual reporting in *The Christian Science Monitor*. Strout has been working for the *Monitor* since 1921 and has been a member of its Washington bureau since 1923. He is a reporter on the *Monitor*, a commentator in *The New Republic*. Perhaps Ehrlichman did not know of the second Strout. He asked his gangling visitor with the somber eyes and bushy eyebrows what he thought the Nixon administration should make its first goal. Why, to build the kind of social democracy and equality that one finds, for example, in Sweden, Strout replied, confidently. Needless to say, the interview was short and it was the only time the Nixon administration sought Strout's advice.

Later, when he was covering Watergate, other reporters asked Strout how it compared with Teapot Dome, his first big Washington story. During both investigations, Strout wrote, many readers charged that the press was "carrying things too far." Many voters, he said, "shrugged and said both parties were alike and it was all just politics." But there was a crucial difference between the two scandals, he said in one TRB column. Watergate was "more disturbing and dangerous" than Teapot Dome because it was "a special kind of corruption without greed. No sex, no dollars. Just power. It doesn't strike at oil leases, it strikes at democracy." Unlike some who have seen the same sort of argument or event time and again Strout is never blasé about the story he is covering. He sees the drama every time and reports it in a way that makes it come alive to the reader.

Long before Johnson and Nixon, Strout expressed concern about the growth of presidential power. As he once said, "there's a feeling that once you sleep in Lincoln's bed, you become deified. It's a dangerous thing." He is convinced that the presidential system is structurally muscle-bound, and he has long believed that the parliamentary system is both more effective and more responsive to the people's needs. No amount of argument has swayed him from that conviction, nor has he been persuaded that it is idle to think the United States will move from the presidential to the parliamentary system.

Another campaign of his that failed was against the televising of presidential news conferences. In 1954, when parts of the Eisenhower conference first were opened for television, Strout wrote an unusual signed article for *The New Republic*, arguing that verbatim recording of a press conference "turns what has been an extremely handy, carefully evolved, semiofficial and unique contrivance into a theatrical performance. The press conference becomes a show. Its informal, easy-going nature is changed into a self-conscious half-hour broadcast." He argued that the informal mood that helped make it possible to pry out information would be lost "if each reporter knows that his boss, the world and his wife will listen to what he is about to say." Now there are as many prima donnas in the press as in the United States Senate. But to argue against television's intrusion was to try to turn back the tide.

Nevertheless, Strout was right about what television would do to press conferences and to the press. Some of FDR's press conferences lasted five or ten minutes, some forty-five minutes or an hour, depending upon the questions and the news developments of the week. Now a presidential conference must fit into television's rigid schedule and appearances often are more important than substance. On television, a President's every word is guarded; informality and give-and-take are held to a minimum, as Strout feared. Even in the Senate debate has degenerated because a Senator would rather use his oratorical skills to obtain a half minute on television than to explore an issue in floor debate. "The communicating medium is television, not the ornate Senate chamber," Strout has written.

Where some writers make a complex subject more complex and even dull, Strout with his marvelous light touch and clarity engages the reader's attention. The reader quickly senses Strout's sturdy principles. His convictions have never led him to color a news story. But these convictions are strongly expressed in TRB. Today there is no more respected writer in Washington, none with more warm friends. His views have never been more pertinent or more up to date than now.

Carroll Kilpatrick

Carroll Kilpatrick recently retired as reporter and White House correspondent for *The Washington Post*.

White House Watch

In Jody's Shop (I)

One of Jody Powell's major public relations triumphs since he went to work for Jimmy Carter in Georgia in 1969 has been in getting journalists to refer to him and think of him as Jody. The only known exceptions in Washington are the editors of the Congressional Directory, who list him as Joseph L. Powell, and *New York Times* columnist William Safire, who identifies the President's press secretary variously as Joseph Lester Powell and J. Lester Powell and may be expected any

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time now to drop the first name and initial and write only of Lester Powell. There can be a lot in a name and the latter practice, if widely imitated, would be a grievous blow to our Jody. He'd be down on his knees, begging us at least to call him Joe.

Jody Powell in his capacity as spokesman for the President, in public briefings and in private and supplementary communication with reporters, is one of the best White House press secretaries I've dealt with, off and on, over the past 45 years. In some respects he is *the* best. Until recently I considered Powell's total press and public information operation, viewed apart from him, to be probably the worst I'd ever dealt with. It's been improving lately, leaving aside occasional lapses, and the improvement seems likely to continue. The foregoing is one man's opinion, but it's close to the consensus among journalists who are regularly assigned to the White House.

The opinion requires a caveat. What improvement there has been and may be in the total Powell performance has done and can do very little to improve the public perception of the President and of his performance. The best of press secretaries and of White House public relations efforts cannot long make a President appear to be better than he is, or make his performance appear to be better than it is. Finally, the caveat requires a caveat. An incompetent press secretary and a poor public relations performance can affect the public perception of a President and of his performance and so do him considerable harm. Powell himself being unusually competent in his personal role, the defects in his overall operation probably have had little or nothing to do with Carter's decline in the polls since last summer. But this is to say only that the President has been lucky and that he is being prudent if he is insisting, as he is said at the White House to be insisting, that defects in the Powell operation and in other staff functions be corrected. One of Powell's many duties and preoccupations of late, other than his responsibilities as press secretary and spokesman, has been to participate with a few other senior assistants in planning organizational changes throughout the White House structure. The changes, soon to be announced, are said mainly to involve assignments and functions at middle and lower staff levels. After the changes are made the President's senior staff of ten assistants, including one or two who are seniors by courtesy, is expected to be much as it is now.

Powell's personal and organizational defects are largely managerial. Probably the most hackneyed cliché around the Carter White House is to the effect that Jody Powell is the worst manager of himself and others in the memory and knowledge of the 44 individuals who work for him in five staff divisions. They are the news and information staff housed and directly associated with him, the speech and statement writing staff, the preparers of the President's news summaries, a "media relations" staff responsible for contacts with non-Washington journalists and news organizations, and a small staff handling television and radio arrangements.

Powell has two deputy press secretaries and two assistant press secretaries. His relationships with his two deputies, Rex Granum for news and Walter Wurfel for administration, tell a great deal about Powell and, by reflection, about Jimmy Carter and the Carter White House.

Granum is 27. He was born in Ohio, raised in Georgia and graduated from the University of Georgia's journalism school in 1972. He was a reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution* from September 1972 until January 1976, when he joined the Carter campaign press staff under Powell. The fact that Granum on a White House salary of $48,500 makes twice what some White House reporters twice his age earn gravels some of the said reporters. Carter first knew Granum as a reporter. In Granum's first months on the campaign staff Carter seemed to forget at times that the young man scribbling notes in his presence was his employee and not still a reporter. Weaning Carter from sole dependence on and confidence in Powell for press relations purposes, and getting him to accept Granum as a dependable number-two man, was among Powell's most difficult tasks during the first months at the White House. Now Granum regularly spends a half an hour with Carter and Powell before the daily White House press briefings and confers alone with the President when Powell is away or otherwise occupied. Winning the President's confidence, however, was not and is not Granum's principal problem. It was and is getting enough of Powell's time and enough of the topside information that Powell alone possesses to enable Granum to do the job he's supposed to do. Wurfel has the same problem, in spades.

The difficulty results partly from Powell's nature and personal disorganization, partly from circumstances. Powell's role as press secretary is actually secondary to his role as a general adviser to the President across the whole range of policy, domestic and foreign. The chief assistant, Hamilton Jordan, wields more specific authority over a wider range than Powell does. But the believable word at the White House is that the President consults Powell on everything. Other senior assistants demand much of his time, counsel and company. "Jody has closer to 18 roles than one," Granum says. "Therefore he is not able to spend as much time as he'd like with me." Powell was asked the other day whether he's aware that Granum and Wurfel find it hard to get enough time with him. He answered: "I think that's probably true. Walt probably feels that more than Rex does. But I suspect that both of them feel it to some extent."

Powell began telling reporters last October that he'd concluded that part of the President's and the administration's troubles with Congress and the public

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resulted from inadequate presentation of Carter proposals and programs. Therefore, said Powell, he was going to spend less of his time preparing for and giving the daily White House press briefings, normally five times a week and sometimes oftener when the President is in town, and pass more of that burden to Granum. Powell said he intended to use the time thus gained to discuss, think through, plan and direct better presentation of Carter programs. That made sense, but there were and are problems. One of the problems is conveying to another person, in this instance Granum, and through Granum to the White House press corps, the myriad nuances of policy meetings that Powell attends and Granum doesn't and, beyond all else, the unique understanding of Carter, of what he means and intends, that Powell has garnered from eight years of ever-increasing intimacy. Another problem is the press corps' differing perceptions of Powell and Granum. Powell's standing with the President is known, is accepted as fact, and gives him authority as a spokesman that nobody else has or can have. The perception of Granum is that he is inadequately informed, simply not a convincing briefer and an unacceptable substitute for Powell. This impression is partly attributable to Granum's manner. He is soft-spoken, diffident, cautious, *nice*—too nice, probably, for his good. He is aware of the doubts and speaks engagingly about his problems and his confidence that he is overcoming them: "I would be the last person to contend that there are never lapses. But I have felt better and better lately about my preparation and about the adequacy of my briefings. There is quite naturally a desire to have the briefer be the press secretary and a confidant of the President. But we have found that it can't always be that way, that Jody needs time to do other things." And: "There is no question that Jody is a better briefer than I am." And: he can't, nobody at the White House except the President can, get all the time they'd like with Jody. But: "I can always get to him by phone, and I can see him when I really must see him." Granum's office is two doors away from Powell's office.

Walter Wurfel—aged 41, a former newspaper reporter, broadcaster, foreign aid assistant, press secretary to the late Hubert Humphrey and to Senator Dick Stone of Florida—has had a wider experience than anyone else on the press staff. He recently coordinated the presentation and promotion of Carter's civil service reform proposals, a job that is considered by some people at the White House to be the best of its kind yet done for Carter. Powell has concluded that he probably under-used Wurfel during the first year and intends to broaden his responsibilities beyond the narrow administrative assignments he had until he took on the civil service task. Stuart Eizenstat, the President's chief domestic adviser, speaks highly of Wurfel and hopes that he will be assigned to coordinate the presentation of other major domestic programs. The next big one deals with urban policy. The major decisions on it, previously promised by March 20, probably won't be made and announced before early April. Wurfel almost never sees Carter and concedes, rather ruefully, that he doesn't have to in order to do his administrative job. He does need to confer with Powell, occasionally does, and lately has taken to communicating with Jody by means of what Wurfel calls "little notes." He says this works quite well. His office adjoins Powell's office.

One of the reasons for Rex Granum's growing assurance in his expanded job is his rapport with Hamilton Jordan. Granum finds it easier to get to Jordan than he does to get to Powell, excepting fixed occasions such as the regular meetings with Powell and the President before the daily press briefings and a followup meeting with Powell, also before the briefings. One of Granum's recent chores was to inform his friend Jordan that *The Washington Post* Sunday magazine was about to report that he, Jordan, had spat liquor down a woman's blouse at a Washington bar. Granum got the firm impression that Jordan fully comprehended the gravity of the report, the latest of many gossip items reflecting upon Jordan's taste and judgment, and that Jordan had agreed to call the *Post* reporter responsible for the story and tell him that the report was false. One of the *Post*'s and the reporter's later justifications for running the story and distributing it nationally on a syndicate wire was that the reporter's request for White House comment was ignored. Powell left an impression—without intending to do so, he says—that a press office secretary who took the reporter's telephone call failed to pass the request for comment up the line to Powell or another press officer. The secretary, Mary Ellen Robinson, immediately reported the request to an assistant press secretary, Claudia Townsend. Townsend reported it to Granum and Granum forthwith reported it to Jordan. Nobody said anything about it to Powell at the time. Jordan said later that he didn't pay much attention to Granum's warning and didn't call the reporter, partly because he knew the story was false and partly because nobody on the press staff took the trouble to make sure that he had called the *Post*. Jordan said he assumed that somebody on the press staff would have been back at him if the matter were all that important. Powell, Granum and Jordan were characteristically anxious not to blame one another for the failure to respond to the *Post* inquiry. "To the extent that blame attaches to anybody," Jordan said after the storm following publication of the story had passed, "it attaches to me." Not that the failure to respond made much difference. It's fair to assume that the *Post* would have run the miserable story anyhow, complete with denial.

Next week: Jody Powell's problems with the press and Carter's problems with the networks.

John Osborne

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Rise of the Press Secretary

by Henry Fairlie

Constitutional changes do not occur only as a result of legislative action, amendment or judicial decision. As often as not they take place silently, and unobserved at first, by the growth of some new office. Suddenly one notices that there has been a shift of power, which in turn marks a change in the balance of the constitution. Such a development seems to have occurred as a result of the institution and expansion of the office of the Press Secretary to the President.

The Press Secretary does not merely help the President deal with the press. If this were his only role, there would be nothing much to say. Presidents from the beginning have taken care over their relations with the press. Like most Presidents in the past, Washington handled the press by favoring friendly newspapers with information. He once handed a copy of an important speech to only one newspaper in Philadelphia. Jefferson used the *National Intelligencer* as his mouthpiece. With his usual insight into the proprieties of the new democratic age, Jackson put 57 journalists on the federal payroll and so earned the allegiance of their newspapers. There is not much in the arts of manipulating the press that a President today cannot learn from his predecessors.

As with so much else that is misunderstood about him, it is not often realized that Coolidge was a master at using the press. Long after he died, journalists who had covered him admitted, with some wry self-criticism, that he had always taken them in with trivia. There was always some domestic detail, some reference to old Colonel Coolidge, some homely observation of the passing scene, that he knew they would lap up. He also had a zeal to be photographed, in any kind of costume, so that the nation's archives are full of pictures of him as a cowboy, as an Indian, with a fishing rod, with a pitchfork, at a hay mowing, on the bridge of a yacht.

Moreover, Coolidge received all this publicity without the help of a press secretary, like all of his predecessors. If getting favorable publicity were the sole role of the press secretary today, we would hear little of him, and he would not hold so influential a position in every administration. The relationship between a President and the press was described by Walter Lippmann as "a great matter of state"—but then one is not sure what Walter Lippmann *did not* regard as "a great matter of state." There is something more at issue than the relationship with the press. If we are to understand it, we must do more than gaze on the face of Jody Powell, or recall the happy years with Ron Ziegler.

In describing any development in the American political system, one is on fairly safe ground if one looks wise and says that it really all started with Theodore Roosevelt. Since the ruthless efforts of Lincoln to control and censor the northern press, the relations of Presidents with the press had been desultory, amiable with supporters, hostile with opponents, and acceptably venal when the occasion called for it. The 20th century opened with the belief of some that Mark Hanna was the spokesman of McKinley, which was countered by the belief of others that McKinley was the spokesman of Mark Hanna. With the advent of Roosevelt, all this changed.

In 1895, William W. Price had begun the practice of standing outside the White House and interviewing visitors as they left, and he was imitated. By the portico of the White House stood the Washington correspondents, in fair weather and foul, and by their side stood the messengers and telegraph boys, who were ready to speed their stories to the newspaper and telegraph offices. Teddy Roosevelt looked on this scene with a compassionate heart; he provided the correspondents with working space inside the White House. This was only the beginning. Oswald Garrison Villard of the *Nation* later said that Roosevelt "did more to corrupt the Washington newspapermen than anyone else" by both his flattery of them and his stimulation.

Already as Governor of New York, he had seen the press twice a day, at 11 am and 5 pm. He rushed back from McKinley's funeral for a meeting he had arranged with the heads of the three press associations, the United Press, the Associated Press and the *New York Sun* press service. He had confidence in them, he said, at least he had confidence in two of them, and would have to wait to get to know the third. The other two then vouched for their colleague, and Roosevelt at once said that he had confidence in him also. There would be a partnership. He would trust them. They could trust him.

The brilliance of this move is perhaps not visible at first. He had not called in the editors of newspapers; he had called in the heads of the news services. Roosevelt was the first President to understand the importance of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

news, as distinct from the editorial opinions of newspapers. If there was no news, he manufactured it. Archie Butt, an intimate adviser of both Roosevelt and Taft, said of Roosevelt: "He was his own press agent, and he had a splendid comprehension of news and its value." He flattered the press. He provided it with news. He also bullied it. He founded what he called the Ananais Club, banishing to it newspapermen who displeased him, proclaiming that they would fall smitten to the ground as Ananais had done when rebuked by Peter.

What was happening, of course, was that with the simultaneous growth of a democratic electorate and a stronger presidency, the man who had an intuitive feeling for both sensed the need to organize the manipulation of the press more than before. Archie Butt showed what he had learned from Roosevelt when he went on to work for Taft. When Taft attended a baseball game in Pittsburgh, Butt arranged for him to sit with the rest of the crowd in the stands. Butt told the President that this was so that he could see all the best plays; he told the press that the President wanted "to see the game where all lovers of the sport saw it, and where he could see the crowd and hear the comments of the fans." Archie Butt was the forerunner of Pierre Salinger and of Jody Powell.

But Taft was only an interlude. The professor from Princeton had a nose for the press, or rather three men trained his nose to scent it during his rapid emergence on to the national scene. One was George Harvey, president of Harper & Brothers, publisher of the then influential *Harper's Weekly* and *North American Review*, the man who created Wilson's image. The other two, at first his opponents, were James Kerney of the *Trenton Evening Times* and Joseph P. Tumulty, who became his secretary. Tumulty had a flair for press relations. Although Tumulty's title was private secretary, he was more like a press secretary than any before.

As soon as he took office, Wilson instituted the first formal and regular White House press conferences. At the beginning he held them twice a week. His words to the press at the first of them seemed to take the newspapermen into his confidence. But the most significant of his remarks was: "I sent for you therefore to ask that you go into partnership with me." Wilson's success at the beginning drew the admiration of none other than Taft: "The use of the Washington correspondents by this administration has been masterly. . . . It shows a keenness of the use of political instruments, and an ability in their direction, that rouses my very great admiration."

But the relationship did not last, primarily because Wilson ceased to be interested in it. With the approach of America's entry into the war, there came the demand for voluntary censorship by the newspapers. By the end of March 1917, as described by *The New Republic*, the President had "denied himself to nearly everyone and even terminated his weekly conferences with newspapermen," and almost everyone else in the administration was "practically forbidden to speak." The relationship continued to deteriorate throughout the war, and did not improve afterward. What must of course amaze us is that a great war was prosecuted without any serious White House staff arrangements to meet the newspapers' needs.

With the arrival of Harding the situation improved. He was personally friendly with the newspapermen, and was free with reminders that he was himself a newspaperman from the *Marion Star*. During his "front porch" campaign in 1920, a three-room bungalow was erected for the press behind his neighbor's house in Marion. Harding went there once or twice a day, calling it the reporters' "shack," leaned against the rail of its porch, lit a stogie or a cigarette and won their friendship. He resumed the regular press conferences as President, holding them twice a week, although insisting on written questions, a practice which was only discontinued by Franklin Roosevelt. But still there was no press secretary.

Coolidge's relations we have already described. Perhaps as much as any President since Theodore Roosevelt, he could be described as his own press agent. It was with Hoover that something like today's press secretary at last emerged. He seems to have disliked all contact with the press, but then there is not much evidence that he liked being President. He maintained the practice of holding press conferences to answer written questions, but held only 66 of these in the whole four years of his presidency. He arranged for the press to meet twice daily with a presidential secretary, while he himself gave special treatment to a few favorite newspapermen, especially to Mark Sullivan of the *New York Herald Tribune*.

The first was George Akerson, who was described as pompous but harmless. His most remarkable achievement seems to have been to hold press conferences without allowing any questions. He gave the information he had to give. This enabled him at four pm one day to say that Harlan Stone would be appointed Chief Justice of the United States, and with equal gravity and apparently without turning a hair to confirm at 4:30 pm that the Chief Justice would be Charles Evans Hughes. Akerson was succeeded in January 1931 by Theodore C. Joslin, described by a contemporary as one of "the most tractable, stodgy, and partisan trained seals of the Washington press corps. . . ."

The press was yearning to be liked by a President, to be given some attention and above all to be given news by him. Onto the stage thus prepared, there stepped Franklin Delano Roosevelt. John Dos Passos described him in *The New Republic* a year after took office. "His voice is fatherly-friendly, without strain, like the voice of the principal of a first-rate boy's school. He is talking. He is releasing a piece of news that will slap headlines on all the front pages of the country. He is setting off a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bombshell. The ladies and gentlemen of the press lean forward happily. There's the headline for them, the front-page spread. . . . Every pupil has a piece of candy to take home. When the President has briefly and concisely explained his news, he leans back in his chair, takes a deep breath, puffs out his cheeks and lets the air out with the sudden puff of a man who's finished blowing up a toy balloon." Heywood Broun described FDR as "the best newspaperman who has ever been President of the United States." But this is not the story we have to tell here. For Franklin Roosevelt brought to the White House a friend and supporter for many years past, Stephen Early, the first real and really considerable press secretary to a President.

Early was there to the end. Novices like myself can still listen to stories from old-timers of his explosive temper, which apparently made him as safe to be near at such moments as a mountain lion trapped by only one leg. He was an experienced newspaperman from a Southern village, a hard drinker and chain smoker, but perhaps above all he was the press secretary who completely earned the trust of the Washington correspondents, and who was as quick to defend as he was to help if any of them was unfairly attacked. Taking the entire span of Roosevelt's four terms, Steve Early certainly was as close as anyone to him. What we see first in him is the press secretary as intimate and trusted adviser, the first to the bedside of the President in the morning. The question that matters is whether this relationship was the result of more than a personal trust and liking between the two men.

The answer must be that it was. More than any President before him, Roosevelt made the direct relationship of a President with the people an extra-constitutional force in the working of the political system. One symbol of this was the fact that he almost kept his promise to hold two press conferences a week to the end: he held 337 in his first term, 374 in his second, 279 in his third and 8 in the few months of his fourth. A second symbol of course was the Fireside Chat. But no less a symbol was the fact that Early had been with FDR as an advance man in the campaign for Vice President in 1920, and then again in the 1932 campaign for President. Along with other old campaigners, such as Louis Howe and Marvin McIntyre, the campaign staff was being brought to the heart of the White House.

In other words, the people were being brought into the White House in a different way than under Jackson, and so made accessible to the President. Most of the press as such was against him, but the Washington correspondents generally were not. They liked him, and he gave them stories. This second Roosevelt also understood that news is more powerful than editorial opinion. With a constant supply of news, the President was reaching to the people, even above the heads of the editors of the newspapers they read. The press was being used to win the people, not to persuade editors or publishers. The culmination under Roosevelt of all the experiments in press relations since the beginning of the century was to transform the relationship of the presidency to the public, and so inevitably to other centers of power in the political system. That is what one means by a constitutional change resulting from the creation and growth of a new office. In his first press conference, FDR significantly referred to "the press relations section of the Executive Offices."

Truman's relations with the press never were satisfactory. The machinery remained, of course. But the man in charge of it was Charles Ross, who had been to high school in Independence with Truman. Ross once had been a great journalist on the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, but by then was elderly, out-of-touch, tired and stooped, and seemed to have forgotten that newspapermen like news. He seems never to have briefed Truman adequately for his press conferences. When the President made some mistake Ross merely stood silently to the side, whereas Early always had been ready to interrupt Roosevelt and say: "Mr. President, isn't what you mean to say that. . . ."

But with the still-misunderstood presidency of Eisenhower, the press secretary returned with a vengeance to his new prominence. James Hagerty not only overcame Eisenhower's initial reluctance to hold press conferences at all, he then introduced two of the most important developments in the press conference, which made it even more than before an instrument for reaching directly to the public. He arranged for complete transcripts of the press conferences to be available to journalists within two hours, and made tape-recordings of them available to the radio news programs. This assured much wider coverage. Hagerty's second innovation was to admit movie and television news cameras in 1955, even though he reserved the right to edit the filmed versions.

It was inevitable in such circumstances that the press secretary should again become an intimate adviser of the President. On Wednesdays when Eisenhower gave his press conferences, Hagerty brought leading members of the staff and administration together at breakfast to discuss the questions that might be asked. At 10 am they briefed the President. The press conference was becoming an institutionalized activity of the presidency. Hagerty virtually took command in 1953 to decide what Eisenhower should say in response to the news of Stalin's stroke and then of his death. Hagerty was there with Cabinet members to decide the response to a sudden request by the French premier for a three-power meeting. Hagerty was one of the key men in the discussions of a possible second term in 1956, and the examples could be multiplied.

At the time of Eisenhower's heart attack, the President said to his doctor: "Tell him to take over and make the decisions—and handle the story." Hagerty denies that Eisenhower meant that he should take over

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the government, but nevertheless he was the senior White House official on the scene for several days, and he was the only authorized spokesman of the President. It is hard to see from the evidence who else was exercising greater authority than he. Even after he had informed Richard Nixon of the heart attack, not only Nixon, but also William Rogers as Attorney General and Wilton Persons, consistently checked with Hagerty before taking any action or making any pronouncement.

The stage was set for the next reinforcement of the direct relationship of the President with the public: for John Kennedy and his press secretary Pierre Salinger. Roosevelt had hardly needed briefing for his press conferences. The briefing of Eisenhower was organized but not intense. But the briefing of Kennedy for his Wednesday press conferences began on Tuesday, when the press officers of the executive branch met with Salinger to anticipate "questions in sensitive areas," and to prepare answers. "I would give the material to the President early in the evening and he would study it before going to bed. The next morning, with his top advisers, we would go through a dry run at breakfast. . . . I would sit directly across the table from JFK and fire the questions at him (between forkfuls of ham and eggs) in the language I thought the press would use."

The tension then mounted: "There were usually six or eight questions for which he required more facts, and I would start digging them up, immediately after breakfast. The President always took a nap after lunch to increase his alertness for the press conference, which most often took place at 4 pm. Bundy, Sorensen, and I would wake him around three and run over the new information with him as he was dressing. The President and I would arrive at the State Department ten minutes before four. Rusk, Under Secretary George Ball, and State press officer Manning would be waiting in a small room off the auditorium, with the latest information off the State Department teletype. There was also a direct telephone line to the White House, in case of a major, last-minute news break there. . . . Exactly at four, the President would stride on to the stage." And a stage was indeed what it was, for the press conferences now went out unedited, directly from the President to the public.

No journalist ever really extracted any information from Kennedy on these occasions. "He either overwhelmed you with decimal points," said James Reston, "or disarmed you with a smile and a wisecrack." His rehearsed answers were like those Vaughn Meader caricatured on the record *The First Family*, as when he explained how his children's arguments about their toys in the bathtub were to be resolved: "Yes, well let me make a judgment about that. Now, the uh following toys have been appropriated for tub *use*: eighteen PT boats, three uh Yogi beach balls, two Howdy Doody plastic uh bouncing clowns, a ball of uh Silly Putty and a rubber *swan*. Now, let me make a judgment on the disposal of those items: *nine* of the PT boats, *two* of the Yogi uh beach balls, the uh ball of Silly Putty belong to Caroline; *nine* of the PT boats, *one* of the Yogi uh beach balls, and the uh two Howdy Doody plastic bouncing clowns are Baby John's. . . . The rubber *swan* is mine." His answers on Vietnam were very much like that.

"A news management policy now exists," said Arthur Krock at one point, and of course it did. This accounts for some of the sensitivity of the press today to the possibility of being used by other Presidents. We will not be taken in again! But what matters even more in the context of our story is that a presidency so completely organized around the relation of the President with the public through the press is almost bound to get its priorities out of order. Not only can a President not govern by such a direct relationship with the people, but this relationship will prevent him from developing properly the genuinely political relationships he needs elsewhere in order to govern. The reigns of Herb Klein and Ron Ziegler, of Ron Nessen and now Jody Powell, are all too recent to need describing. But they only confirm the story that has been told here. They represent a profound shift in the working of the constitution. The fact that Lyndon Johnson ran through four press secretaries in barely five years only suggests how desperate and unprofitable the relationship becomes when some grave issue confronts both the President and the nation.

All the faults of the relationship are obvious enough in the most recent of history. Emmet John Hughes said of Jim Hagerty that "he entertained and expressed little concern with substance." This has been true of every press secretary since then. Yet these men who are not interested in substance are there at the very heart of the decision-making process, first in the morning and last at night. Of the kind of language which Presidents use at televised press conferences, James Reston said after they were introduced: "What everybody does not know is just how far this habit of casual or inaccurate official talk, inflated by the modern techniques of public relations, propaganda, and mass communications, has added to the political confusion and cynicism of our time." But everyone must know it by now. No wonder the people do not believe their Presidents when they hear how they speak at their press conferences.

But we have become so accustomed to these faults and so ready to take the prominence of the press secretary for granted, that perhaps we will only realize the seriousness of the position if we understand that it reflects and itself has aggravated a severe imbalance in the constitution. In the words of the motions that were used in the great constitutional debates in the eighteenth century in England: "The power of the Press Secretary to the President has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Let Congress debate that, and cut the appropriations for this office.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arts and Lives

Stanley Kauffmann on theater

All A-bored!

On the Twentieth Century (St. James). Almost every Broadway musical that I've seen in the last dozen years could have served as the subject of an article called: Whatever Became of the Broadway Musical? *On the Twentieth Century*, which has just puffed in, is no exception. It's chockfull of the desperate bustle of the very weary and the imaginatively bankrupt. It was written and directed by Big Names, but they are Big Old Names, which in this case means tired.

Like marathon runners who don't know that they've passed the finish line, they just keep jog-jog-jogging along. This has been going on for some time. Betty Comden and Adolph Green, who wrote the book and lyrics, and Harold Prince, the director, have done such dismal musicals in the last dozen years, that this new show is not a falling off, it's simply a non-falling-down as they keep jogging. Cy Coleman, the composer, responsible for (at his best) the dull score of *Sweet Charity* and (at his worst) *I Love My Wife*, of which I will never hear the second half, has tried to write a florid score here to match the florid comedy of the show. I'm afraid it does. But the whole febrile exhaustion is worth some inquiry.

The book began life as an unproduced play, *Napoleon on Broadway* by Charles Bruce Milholland. It was rewritten by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur, retitled *Twentieth Century*, and produced in 1933 with Moffat Johnston as a theatrical producer modeled on David Belasco and Eugenie Leontovich as a film star who had begun as his theater star.

She had been a shopgirl; he had made her, in several senses. Then after some years of stress, they had quarreled, she had left his bed and boards and had gone to Hollywood. Now several years after *that*, the producer is returning from Chicago to New York on board the crack Twentieth Century Limited, broke after the latest of a series of flops. She is on the same train. His only chance for survival is to get her name on a contract before the train reaches New York, with which signed contract he can raise money and revive his career. Out of all this, lots of comedy—swashing and buckling and theatrical alley-cat yowling and scratching.

Hecht and MacArthur adapted the play for the screen, mostly by tacking on to the beginning a long opening section that comically dramatized what had happened in the years before the play begins. The result was immortalized—the word is calmly chosen—in Howard Hawks's film (1934). Hawks's direction is brisk and witty, Walter Connolly as the producer's aide is unforgettable, Carole Lombard gives her first really "free" comic performance, not technically secure but full of a beautiful woman's temperamental excitements; and John Barrymore plays the producer. A print of this film should be in every acting school in the country. What you get in Barrymore's performance, besides its many immediate pleasures, is a hundred years of American theatrical history. His maternal grandparents and his parents had been prominent in the 19th-century theater, his uncle was John Drew; he himself grew up with that style which could be (but was not restricted to) larger-than-life; and he brought that style into the modern age with surety, respect, and relish; and, in this case, a touch of spoofery. Since he was a master of it, he *could* spoof it. His electric movements and Palmer-penmanship gestures are just slightly italicized: his ability to sustain vowels and even some consonants to make effects without losing credence is just slightly *bel canto*. His personality and his emotional range are staggering every time one sees the film. The only actors I know of today on this continent who could come close to what Barrymore does in this film (now that Fredric March is dead) are George C. Scott, Christopher Plummer, and Richard Kiley. Well. . . . Robert Preston, *maybe*.

Now why did anyone choose to make a musical of this play without understanding that, first and last, it's a vehicle for irresistible star performers? Not a show that can maybe get by on its book and music (even if they were excellent) and with only an adequate cast. The producer is played by John Cullum, who has a passable operetta-baritone. That is absolutely all. He cannot act; he has no charm, sex, or color; and worst of all, considering what he's called on to do here, he has no comic sense and no ability to move. His first number, "I Rise Again", is about his determination to recoup, histrionically exaggerated by throwing himself to the floor, then struggling to his feet, etc. Cullum, unfunny, simply looks foolish or sick—possibly an advanced case of St. Vitus's dance.

The glamorous tempestuous star—and I can hardly believe that she's really in the role even as I type her name—is Madeline Kahn. She, too, has an adequate voice. All that she has besides—as you may have observed in her films, including Mel Brooks's recent disappointment *High Anxiety*—is some mincing smart-aleck, mock-sexy wit, like the

Films Worth Seeing

Blue Collar. Detroit auto workers and unionism today. Script keeps sliding, but the picture of that world is sharp and steady.

Close Encounters of the Third Kind. The Film God—tremendous images, engulfing sound—using the UFO as its subject matter. Stunning.

The Goodbye Girl. Neil Simon. Much more organic script than most of his theater comedy, buzzing along under Herbert Ross's skillful hand.

Saturday Night Fever. Vividly drawn city-within-a-city. John Travolta fine as the Saturday-night faun.

The Turning Point. The plot is suds. The dancing, by Mikhail Baryshnikov and other ballet figures, makes it float.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cleverest girl at any Central Park West party. Imogene Coca plays the religious fanatic who figures decisively in the plot (a man in the original). Coca was once rightly popular on TV for her winsome kookiness. The day is past.

With Cullum and Kahn in the leading roles of a comedy that is supposed to dazzle us with fireworks, the best book would suffer. Comden and Green have not written that best book. The beginning: Cullum makes his entrance on the train by clinging to the outside as it leaves the station (in order to elude the marshals), then climbs through a window. This entrance helps to kill his character before Cullum finishes the job. Barrymore walked calmly past the marshals watching for him in the station; he was dressed as a stock Southern colonel, and even stopped to ask for a light. That was a theater man's ruse, not an acrobatic trick irrelevant to atmosphere and theme. The ending: Comden and Green have juggled the business of the star's signing the contract at the end—I won't detail it—so that instead of a ruse and a victory over someone really wanting to be conquered, we get mere confusion.

Even before the curtain goes up, trouble bodes. As the overture starts, steam puffs out of the orchestra pit. Immediately we worry about the lack of confidence that needs this trickery, and the focus on the train itself, instead of on the action aboard the train. The latter continues, highlighted—no, lowlighted—by the opening of Act Two, four porters singing "Life Is a Train", my nomination for the most embarrassingly bad number I have seen in a Broadway musical.

Coleman's music is all shapes, no melodies. Larry Fuller's direction of the musical numbers is a string of reminiscences—of past numbers. "She's a Nut," for instance, a fast song that bounces around the stage from group to group, reminded me of "Catch Hatch" from *One Touch of Venus* (1943). Harold Prince is the *capo* director, and it can only be said that the talent whose absence he so plentifully displayed in *Zorba, Pacific Overtures, Candide* and others is still conspicuous in the same way.

Lehman Engel wrote in *The American Musical Theater* (1967);

> *. . . the majority of our newest musicals . . . though enormously successful, seem to me to have little more than empty interiors, sometimes rather adroitly concealed behind colorful and swiftly changing facades. The material . . . tends to be perfunctory . . . What this material . . . lacks chiefly, in my estimation, is* feeling.

Still true, and right on target here. Feeling is what we want from a musical, easy fast-flowing quick-changing showers of all kinds of feeling—nothing deeply comic or deeply moving but nothing *un*moving, either. How could there be any feeling for *Twentieth Century* with two inadequate stars, an eviscerated story that could only barely have been made engaging with two sparkling performers to flesh it out again, and a score without one affecting phrase?

Twelve years ago I wrote that, in the world of the Broadway musical, the sound of music had been replaced by the sound of carpenters. Now I'm afraid that what they have been building are coffins. Oh, there are hits—Engel, too, concedes that—but the hits seem more the result of a Broadway-Greater New York-US Chamber of Commerce imperative than spontaneous. (Can you remember one note of *Company*?) The whole Broadway area, which once was almost every theater person's goal, has grown decreasingly interesting to the best new talents in the last two decades, and anyway the incredibly greater expense has made producers of musicals less and less willing to take chances on newcomers. (*Twentieth Century* couldn't have cost much less than a million.) About the youngest person to have made an impression in the Broadway musical world is Stephen Sondheim, b. 1930. (No, I haven't forgotten Stephen Schwartz, b. 1948, composer of the forgettable *Pippin*.) So when the Broadway show-shop feels it needs a new musical, usually meaning one more conversion of previously successful material, the people hired for the job are those like these long-drained fabricators, who stir their aching bones once again.

Predictions are perilous, but at any given moment, the past, if not the future, is fixed. And on the basis of the past dozen or so years, it's possible to believe that, on its own level, the Broadway musical is in the same condition as opera. The optimum period for new works may have passed, because of economic and cultural reasons. The future of both of these theaters may lie predominantly in the revival of past good works. The new works seem to need artificial respiration, pumped by a determinedly benevolent press and by dogged producers' insistence on continuing a tradition that may have had its day.

Serving America's Union Families

AMERICAN INCOME LIFE of INDIANA INSURANCE COMPANY

THE AMERICAN INCOME PHILOSOPHY

. . . to recognize what is and what can be
. . . to know where we are and where we are going
. . . to dream big and implement realistically
. . . to recognize responsibility and make decisions with sensitivity

We operate under the free enterprise system and are basically like other insurance companies with one difference, however. We are union through and through. Our office force and agents are union members and covered by negotiated contracts.

Of the 1,700 insurance companies in America, 15 giant companies do 85% of the business. That means that the other 1,685 fight for what's left. Even though American Income Life has over $100 million in assets and is stable and successful, we are among the companies competing for your business.

We're living proof that a company with union contracts can compete with non-union companies. Our employees enjoy the protection of union contracts and wages, yet our policies cost no more than similar policies offered by non-union and anti-union insurance companies.

AMERICAN INCOME LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

a union label company serving American union families. It is publicly owned with 4800 stock holders and with assets of approximately 100 million dollars. If you would like an annual report, write to:
Bernard Rapoport,
Chairman of the Board
P.O.B. 208,
Waco, Texas 76703

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

James Lardner on television

Rock and Sock

James Rockford, the man with the files, has earned a place in Mr. Guinness's book as the private investigator most often erroneously arrested for murder. A certain Lieutenant Chapman of the Los Angeles Police Department seems to specialize in erroneously arresting Rockford for murder. These arrests usually occur at about 9:35 on a Friday night. And each one comes as a terrible shock.

Yes, every time Rockford gets tossed in the slammer, we habitual Rockforders cry, "Great God in boots! Not again!" or words to that effect. And we want to know, "How can any halfway intelligent law enforcement officer seriously believe that the nicest private eye who ever breathed—a man who returns phone messages promptly and has season tickets to the Lakers—could have had a hand in something . . . well, something *underhanded*?"

Almost from the dawn of television, weekly series have been criticized as "formulaic." We might as well criticize Bugs Bunny for being a rabbit. On some shows, it is true, the formula simply permits people of limited imagination to tell the same story and the same jokes week after week. But on the best series, the formula serves just the opposite purpose, allowing for richer, more complicated themes and stories than a show could ever tackle if each hour had to start fresh, obliged to reintroduce the whole roster of characters, their interrelationships, and the values they hold dear and not so dear.

In its years on the air, *The Rockford Files* has told some astonishingly labyrinthine stories. One recent episode managed somehow to involve an Arab prince, a journalism instructor, a sinister campus police chief, fraternity hazing, and a case of kidnapping. Another involved a slightly over-the-hill prostitute, an elderly woman who had once owned a French-Canadian hockey team, and the fur business.

But no matter how vast or arcane the territory covered, each episode reaffirms the same fundamental values—and chiefly the value of loyalty. Rockford's lone friend on the LAPD is Sergeant Dennis Becker, who is continually called upon to perform special favors for Rockford to the detriment of his police career, usually in open defiance of orders from his boss, the lieutenant who specializes in arresting Rockford for murder. Becker is a grumbler and a man of unspectacular intellectual gifts ("This guy Louis Quatorce," he asks during an interrogation, "you got a spelling on that last name?") but he is loyal. When Rockford needs him—a need generally felt at about five minutes to 10—Becker is invariably there.

Just as Rockford is invariably there when Angel needs him. Angel is the sternest test to which human loyalty can be put—a scalawag, a hustler, a huckster, a complete worm with no measurable redeeming features, who has at some point in the distant past managed inexplicably to stake a claim on Rockford's friendship.

There is a modest amount of violence on *The Rockford Files*, or of what the anti-violence crusaders regard as violence. But it never seems casual or inconsequential, and usually catches Rockford quite as unprepared as his audience. By contrast, that fearsome foursome of Kojak, Baretta, Starsky and Hutch are in a constant state of readiness for battle—a state that includes being ready with a few cool quips whenever the enemy is down and out.

Twenty years ago, James Garner was starring in one of the best shows of the 1950s, *Maverick*, a series that cut through the layers of hokum that covered most TV westerns of the day. It is slightly unfair, but not very, to say that Garner has been playing the same character ever since, and playing him very well. It is not at all unfair to say that *The Rockford Files* performs the same cleansing function in the context of today's TV mysteries as *Maverick* performed among its era's westerns.

The Rockford Files is not a "spoof" like *Columbo*. Despite its generally low-keyed and whimsical-but-reasonable tone—a tone maintained with admirable consistency—the show has a way of creeping up on substantial questions. In one of last season's episodes, Rockford was repeatedly hauled before a grand jury by an ambitious and obnoxious prosecutor. Ultimately, I need hardly say, Rockford was exonerated, and he delivered a short, blistering speech to the grand jurors about abuses of the grand jury system.

Around the same time, *60 Minutes* did a story on grand jury excesses that was not only much less entertaining than the

I really do appreciate what you're doing for me, Mr. Rockford. NBC Photo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rockford Files episode, but also much less cogent.

Television sports has given mankind an unprecedented opportunity to view the manner in which some of its specimens handle what the American Broadcasting Company calls "the agony of defeat." Muhammad Ali handled it magnificently after losing his championship several weeks ago, and the grace and drama of the moment were considerably enhanced by an act of omission on the part of a sportscaster. As the broadcast wound to a close, CBS's Brent Mussberger remarked that it would be untimely for him to list a series of upcoming CBS specials, as the script required. So the closing credits were accompanied by something closely resembling silence—a fitting soundtrack for the end of an era.

A moment later, however, TV displayed its remarkable ability to one-up spontaneous grace with prepared crassness. There was Ali again, suddenly revived, floating like a butterfly, and telling us how, with the aid of a product called "d-Con FourGone," we too, could learn to "whup roaches."

Books Considered

Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network by Leonard Mosley

(The Dial Press; $12.95)

There is satisfaction, given the general revisionist urge of our times, in the feeling that the position of the Dulles brothers in history is reasonably secure. They inherited the enormous fund of goodwill that FDR, our conduct of World War II, the Marshall Plan and such men as Harriman, Eisenhower the general, Marshall and Paul Hoffman, as also Harry Truman, had accumulated for the United States. This they worked to liquidate, each in his own way, with such efficiency and dispatch that no other names are remotely likely to have any similar standing in the effort.

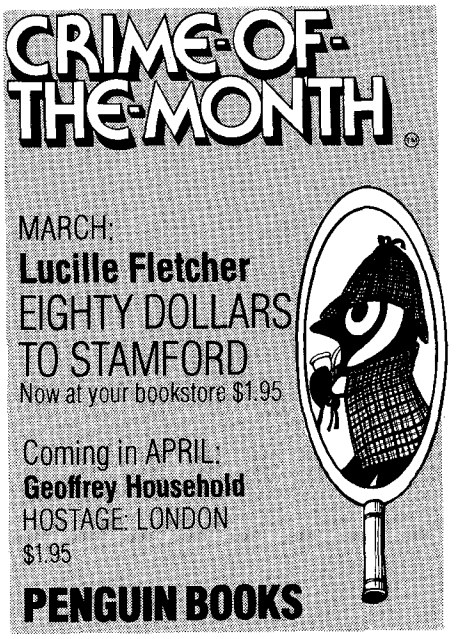
Both men were well attuned to the task. Both, but especially Foster, had an impressive self-serving competence. They shared more or less equally a capacity for truly spectacular misjudgment. Both, though again Foster better than Allen, could exclude from view questions of annoying social complexity. Revolt against privilege, injustice and exploitation or counterpart mass aspiration were not moving forces in history. They were the work of Communists or other troublemakers. The brothers will be thought of, somewhat unfairly, as the classic men of Wall Street—unfairly because there have always been many Wall Streeters with no similar ignorance of the way governments in their behavior reflect or react to the politics of privation and despair.

Both brothers enjoyed major political and bureaucratic success. Their formidable personal skills and personalities apart, it came from a nearly total absence of the self-questioning that characterizes all wiser and safer men. They were also lucky in their timing. They came to office when foreign policy had suddenly become a prestigious and engrossing preoccupation of Americans, outweighing old wealth, elective office, business success and Hollywood in the aura that participation conferred. And because of its relative novelty there was no firm national or political judgment as to what was sensible and who and what were not. As a manufacturer of textiles and chain saws can now become a knowledgeable central banker by the act of appointment, so it then was in foreign policy. Were a man adequately tailored, traveled and mannered and able to affirm in a knowledgeable and reliably repetitive way the current clichés on American security needs, he could be an authority. People were taken at their own valuation on foreign policy, and in the case of the Dulles brothers this was adequately high.

There were differences between the brothers. Allen Dulles was an amiable man, capable of basic bureaucratic and tribal loyalties, and these, on the whole, were reciprocated. Foster was self-centered and self-righteous to the point that he was incapable of elementary loyalty or good faith. There was no one—not even, as this book tells, his attractive and rather goodly sister—who might not be sacrificed in the service of his personal convenience or ambition. The excellent and honest Foreign Service officers who saw—and warned—that the Chinese Communists might have a brighter future than Chiang Kai-shek are a monument to this grim trait. Dulles threw them to Joe McCarthy, making unconvincing murmurs of apology as he did. And from the service of Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, a man of far more refined and intricate instinct for evil than Joe McCarthy, he brought his own executioner to extend the slaughter.

His cultivation of the anti-Communist hysteria of the time; his reckless talk of liberation, which the Hungarians, so to their sorrow, took seriously; his alienation of the neutrals in his vacuous attack on neutralism; his praise of his brinkmanship and his talk of massive retaliation; and his self-serving and unreliable treatment of the British (as well as the Israelis, Nasser and the Egyptians) at the time of the Suez crisis, all reflected the Dulles instinct for the personally expedient—as well as the bad judgment.

History overtook Allen. Within a 12-month period in the early '60s, he was responsible, as head of the CIA, for two of the most luminous foul-ups in the long history of inspired public error—the flight of the U-2 at the time of the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1960 summit (after it was known that the Soviets could shoot down the vehicle and there was wonder why they didn't) and the Bay of Pigs. (All of us around at the time had also to contend with Allen and his coterie of self-assured refugees from more pedestrian employments on a variety of matters. My affliction, among others when I was Ambassador, was a schedule of overflights across India from Bengal to northern Nepal to supply some tribesmen who were supposed to be opening up a kind of miniature second front against Peking.) So Allen Dulles was sacked. It is a measure of his percipience and self-knowledge that he then, and quite unapologetically, wrote a book on the craft of intelligence. One thinks of Segretti on elections. John Foster Dulles died in time to get an airport.

The reason the Dulles brothers will not be rescued by revisionists is one of the few matters on which this book seems wholly reliable. Mr. Mosley's history takes the Dulles principals from cradle to grave and their more agreeable children somewhat beyond. In line of duty, he interviewed numerous of the old Dulles associates, and these included quite a few vintage cold warriors who still unite in believing, some in hoping, that our relations with the Russians will one day so develop as to retrieve their misjudgment on Vietnam. Several spoke fondly of Allen Dulles, although not of his judgment or his ability as an administrator. All without exception dumped hard on Foster. He was too much to defend.

These conversations, if accurately recalled, are useful. Mr. Mosley has also dug up some interesting family history which one hopes is true, including some of a harmlessly voyeuristic sort. And there are occasional new items or overlooked details. Once, as World War II was drawing to a close, I went to a meeting with John Foster Dulles and some others in New York to discuss German policy. With great and adamant certainty, Dulles said Germany must be totally dismembered—some of it going to France, some to Austria, some to Poland. I demurred; he contemptuously refused debate. In later years I had difficulty persuading people that Dulles was this far off. Mr. Mosley affirms that Dulles did urge this view. He implies that it could have been compensation for an excessively tolerant position by his law firm toward Germany in the Hitler years—one, it should be said, that Allen did not share.

Mr. Mosley has also an easy, readable

The brothers Dulles, Allen and Foster (1948) Courtesy of Wide World Photos

style, and he can move rapidly as well as biologically, metaphorically and hydraulically to get a chapter under way. "They were tall, strong in muscle and thigh, and tough as old boots so far as cold water and pain were concerned; but the Dulles brothers and their sister were prone to an extraordinary number of illnesses in their lifetime. . ." The less favorable side is that his book is a mine of minor misinformation, and this leads, inevitably, to doubt as to some of his larger and less checkable facts, conversations and conclusions. Dean Rusk was never head of the Ford Foundation. The Russians never dropped paratroopers dressed in civilian clothes on Berlin to take possession in the closing days of the war. (I doubt that they had the clothes.) Hitler, in the last weeks, was not at Zossen but in his bunker under the Reichschancellery garden, surely one of the best celebrated retreats since St. Helena. His earlier headquarters was not in Poland but East Prussia. The Peenemünde raid came *after* the V-2 had been put in production at an underground factory, and the raid did not appreciably delay its use against England. (Mr. Mosley is not, however, the first to fall for this myth.) Noel Field, after leaving Annemasse, is said here to drive through "the placid Swiss countryside" from Cologne into Geneva, which is a lot like traveling across the placid New York countryside from White Plains to the Bronx. Lord Lothian, the British ambassador in Washington, here offers a special visa to Eleanor Dulles nearly five years after his death. She then went abroad and later earned the love of the Austrians by getting them "well over $1 million in Marshall Plan aid." Austrian love comes low. Stalingrad, according to this writing, did fall. There are more.

Along with others and in striking contrast with later performance, Mosley thinks Allen's World War II operations for the OSS in Switzerland were rather brilliant. I suspect Mr. Mosley of depending excessively on the history according to Allen and his approving and self-approving co-workers. In Bern Dulles

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was certainly more open and available to anti-Hitler Germans and far less suspicious of their motives than the British were. But he was also, some then thought, insufficiently suspicious of those Germans who dreamed less of peace than of a glorious combined Allied/German crusade against the Soviets. There was also a decidedly passive aspect to this role; never in war before have so many been so anxious, many from love of country, some out of wish for re-insurance, to get in touch with the other side. And, as his own postwar account showed, he greatly exaggerated both the power and the popular appeal of the German resistance. At a minimum the Bern years must be explained: any uncharacteristic competence demonstrated there must be squared with Allen Dulles's later instinct for disaster.

John Foster Dulles was an historic misfortune and so was his brother. Together in such potentially damaging posts at so dangerous a time, they are at least proof of the benignity of the gods. We somehow escaped. On balance, we were far safer with Richard Nixon. That they were a disaster Mr. Mosley affirms. One weeps that some editor didn't take the time to read the book before unleashing it, to use a Dulles-era phrase, on the public.

John Kenneth Galbraith

John Kenneth Galbraith is most recently the author of *The Age of Uncertainty* (Houghton Mifflin).

The Romance of American Communism by Vivian Gornick

(Basic Books; $10)

A prejudiced European intellectual once suggested to me that whereas Americans are increasingly the first to unlock the secrets of the physical universe, their human perceptions, like their oil, depend heavily on imports. I would not for a moment subscribe to this calumny, although Vivian Gornick's revelation that American Communists are human (as well as American) will, I suspect, shatter the tidy minds of fewer Europeans than Americans. After all, there never was a House Un-British Activities Committee. Although anti-Communist literature (Silone, Koestler, etc.) flourished in Europe, it never achieved the level of best-selling demonology found in Chambers's *Witness* or, at a lower level, in the droolings of Louis Budenz.

It would not surprise me if the discovery that Communists are people sweeps through American publishing houses in the wake of other crazes. After the forward-looking youth culture of the '60s, it is clearly the moment for the Old Left to stride out of the forgotten margins and to make a center-page spread out of the time of their time. They will certainly find no listener more sympathetic or empathetic than Ms. Gornick. Here, for example, she records an outburst by a certain "Eric Lanzetti," whose style and garbled biography remind me of Carl Marzani:

"And we're everywhere, everywhere. We *saved* this fucking country. We went to Spain, and because we did America understood fascism. We made Vietnam come to an end. We're in there in Watergate. We built the CIO, we got Roosevelt elected, we started black civil rights, we forced this shitty country into every good piece of action and legislation it has ever taken . . . The Party helped make democracy work." I suspect that Gornick believes this to be true: a warm heart and a vivacious, colorful, evocative style, no doubt, is an effective substitute for the ice-cold memory of the academic historian.

Vivian Gornick traveled across America interviewing former Communists with a wide variety of backgrounds: working-class Jews from New York (she herself is one), populist wanderers in the Dos Passos mold, WASP intellectuals, militants plucked in infancy out of Catholic Poland by desperate mothers. She has a novelist's eye and ear for individual character—although her repeated, almost obsessional, observation that her subjects are "slim" in build I found superfluous—and for those patterns of confession and recall that catch at the core of motivation.

Although she can on occasion be harsh with a particularly loathsome specimen, Gornick's former Communists tend to be viewed through a rosy glow of sub-Wolfe prose. She talks of the earth and the people upon it, of emotions strong enough to stop the heart, of wholeness of being, of the beauty and rawness of self-creation. "What I remember most deeply about the Communists is their passion. It was passion that converted them, passion that led them, passion that lifted them up and twisted them down. Each and every one of them experienced a kind of inner radiance: some intensity of illumination that tore at the soul."

Gornick herself broke with the CP in 1956, but she has no patience for anti-Communists or those who dissect the Communist experience in coldly clinical terms. To this attitude I am partly sympathetic; even so, there seems to be a logic-defying assumption at the heart of this book that it was right, indeed essential, to have been a Communist *then*, but out of the question to have been once since then. But when was "then,"

The Origins of Knowledge and Imagination

Jacob Bronowski

"Bronowski's humanistic credo reaffirms the mutuality of science and art, the data of the senses and the daring of the visionary. A pithy, inspiring book."—*Publishers Weekly*

"Bronowski's synthesis is a gem of enlightenment."
—*Kirkus Reviews* $7.95

Yale University Press
New Haven and London

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

please? For many ex-Communists, and perhaps for most of them, the moment when it became necessary to quit was precisely the moment when they themselves quit. One of Ms. Gornick's interviewees rages at all those who jumped overboard in 1956, and at all those who remained in the Party after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. He admits that he visited Russia for the first time in the 1960s, and that he was appalled, yet he reserves the most virulent diatribes for all those who dared to see the light before he did.

Granting as she does that people were deformed by protracted membership in the American CP, Gornick offers no explanation of this deformation; nor, equally important, does she grasp the fact that the seeds of dogmatism and intolerance often resided in those same, passionate, pedagogic certainties which led many Americans to embrace the Party in the first place. Her view is simply a tragic one: "Thus, among the Communists, men and women who gained the courage to plunge after freedom were in the end not free . . . Men and women . . . who clung to the beauty and decency of reason were in the end a caricature of reason." On the other hand I do agree with her—and herein resides the value of her book—when she writes of "the hundreds and hundreds who fought daily, hourly, to hold onto themselves and *still* remain Communists, and the wealth of human experience that is encompassed in that struggle."

Although the leadership of the CPUSA in the late '40s was heavily weighted by men and women of East European and Jewish-immigrant stock, thus enabling Tom Clark and J. Edgar Hoover to inflame the rising fear of alien subversion with supporting statistics, it is true, as Gornick stresses, that rank and file militants were drawn from almost every type of American background, and that former Communists are now to be found in almost every sphere of working life. (They make excellent businessmen, too—but what the hell.) Having granted this plurality of background, one must stress that the American Party never achieved more than a peripheral penetration of the industrial working class. Particularly interesting, then, are the memories of college-educated activists who were assigned to "colonize" the automobile and electrical plants of Michigan and the north east. They, like the militants who made themselves "unavailable" and went underground during the McCarthy period, needed extraordinary qualities of dedication and fortitude in order to endure the years of hardship, isolation and ideological stress. If for no other reason than that, their stories make compelling reading.

As history, *The Romance of American Communism* should be treated with caution. Without anywhere signalling the fact, Gornick appears to have covered all her characters with pseudonyms, even those who can readily be identified by any student of the period. It is true, of course, that some victims of the witch-hunts migrated to begin new lives under new names and still fear exposure to the FBI or local vigilantes; on the other hand, I suspect that this shadowy identity is often less a response to actual persecution than a bogusly romantic inflation of the individual's role as revolutionary. I notice, also, that crucial episodes in some of the stories have been blurred. Is this deliberate, or simply ignorance on Gornick's part?

The high number of elementary factual errors in this book must suggest ignorance. I don't know of any woman who was State Chairman of the California CP for 25 years. The Taft-Hartley Act was not passed into law in 1950, nor was the Communist Party (sic) Association created in 1946. The IUE was the International Union of Electrical Workers and not the International United Electrical. "Dick Nikowsski" (plainly Steve Nelson) was not sentenced in 1949 to 25 years imprisonment under the "Smith Act Law of Sedition" (sic); he was sentenced in 1952 to 20 years under the Pennsylvania sedition law (a conviction which the Supreme Court overturned) and only subsequently tried under the Smith Act, sentenced to five years. Gornick's statement that in 1951 McCarthy was "just over the horizon" must make strange reading for former members of the State Department.

David Caute

David Caute, historian and novelist, is the author of the 1973 study *The Fellow-Travellers* (Macmillan).

Labor and Communism: The Conflict that Shaped American Unions by Bert Cochran

(Princeton University Press; $25)

If there is any one area of American life in which American Communists made a lasting imprint, it was the organization and building of the CIO. Their work in that effort is common knowledge. But for many years, the Communists have been depicted as total villains—automatons whose obedience to the twists and turns of the Moscow line cancelled out any meaningful contributions they otherwise might have made. Although this caricature grows fainter, and as Michael Harrington has recently written, many Communists "manifested courageous idealism in support of popular movements," previous examinations of the Communists in the labor movement have had a tone of Cold War polemic.

The very title of Max Kampelman's book, *The Communist Party vs. the C.I.O.* (1957) revealed that study to be a brief for the CIO's expulsion of the Communist-led unions in the 1950s. Even Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, in *The American Communist Party* (1962), described the Communists in the CIO as simply "a disruptive and distrusted minority," whose leadership in some CIO unions could be attributed to the Party being the best organized political group. These estimates now appear rather one-sided. As we move further away from the early days of the Cold War, scholars are finding it possible to take a new look at the Communists, and to soberly assess the role they played in the labor movement.

That assessment has been carried out in a splendid fashion by the activist turned scholar, Bert Cochran. A veteran of the factional fights of the '30s and '40s (then a Trotskyist), Cochran has written a careful scholarly account that separates myth from reality. He is not afraid to give the Communists credit when it is due, yet he is always able to be mercilessly critical when necessary, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to challenge some of the exaggerations one finds in the memoirs of CP union activists, such as Len DeCaux in *Labor Radical* or James Matles in *Them and Us*. At times, old Communist and Socialist Party militants will both find themselves upset, since Cochran steers clear of writing the type of presentist history that seeks to justify the political line of contemporary descendants of both these groups.

First, Cochran gives the Communist Party full credit for their dedication to organizing the CIO. The current United Automobile Workers leadership may not like to be reminded of the past, but Cochran argues persuasively that in those early days, the CP was *the* major force in the UAW organizing drives. Indeed, he points out that Walter Reuther was then a Socialist Party member who was "on intimate terms with the Communists;" that Reuther would not have been a delegate to the first UAW convention without the Party's support, and that in the first Popular Front period, "there was no differentiation between what the Communists were doing in Local 155 and what the Socialists were doing in Local 174." Reuther was quite close to the Communists—too close for some of his Socialist comrades—but as a Socialist unionist named Frank Winn explained, the Communists were "functioning as good trade unionists."

And more so. Cochran conclusively shows that the Communists played a major role in the great Detroit auto workers' sit-down strike, and especially in the Fisher body plant in Cleveland, an event that "set in motion the most momentous single strike in American labor history." In this action, "the three Reuthers . . . and other Socialists, all important in the strike worked in kinship with . . . the Communists, since on union matters they saw eye to eye." But the Communists were hardly heroic revolutionaries. Cochran reveals that they proved to be more moderate in their tactics than either John L. Lewis or John Brophy. The Communists wanted the sit-downers to vacate the plant before victory, if General Motors agreed to negotiate. Lewis insisted they remain! He attributes the UAW's final victory to Lewis's resolve, the sympathy of Governor Frank Murphy, and the Roosevelt administration's decision not to use Federal troops against the UAW. The Party had little to do with any of these.

Despite their selfless dedication, the Communists did not make much headway in gaining ideological hegemony or even many working class recruits. Their anti-war stance during the Nazi-Soviet Pact made them fairly isolated, and it was only the change in line after the invasion of Russia that saved the necks (and positions) of Party leaders in the CIO. The new line, Cochran perceptively writes, was both their strength and their weakness:

> *Because of the providential meshing of events in December 1941, the Communists could be both Russian patriots and American patriots. For once, they could have the best of both worlds . . . They could work to reforge the broken links and to forge new ones for a bigger and better all national popular front. They could be part of the general labor coalition opposing strikes and calling for more production. At the same time, to retain their status as a distinct left grouping they could criticize big business for the inadequacy of its sacrifices in the common cause, beat the drums for a labor voice in decision-making, and call for a populist deepening of war aims.*

Not that such a policy was wrong. The problem was that the Party had no sense of balance. Its leaders became 150 percent Americans, even portraying regular militant unionists as fifth columnists. Under Earl Browder's leadership, the Party championed incentive pay bonuses. Thus Harry Bridges could bluntly, and without the hypocrisy and double-talk engaged in by Party leaders, call for unions to become "instruments of speedup of the working class of America."

Aside from such excesses, the Party's wartime policy paid off. It had become in effect a replica of the European socialist parties, a political movement composed of an activist cadre that adhered to a patriotic policy which was in tune with the broad labor-liberal leadership. The Communists might have been able to strike deep roots in the mass movement. But their line was based on the erroneous assumption that the American-Russian alliance would survive wartime imperatives. When the Cold War broke out, the Party leaders found that they were torn "between their hopes for acceptance in the wider society, and their old family allegiances."

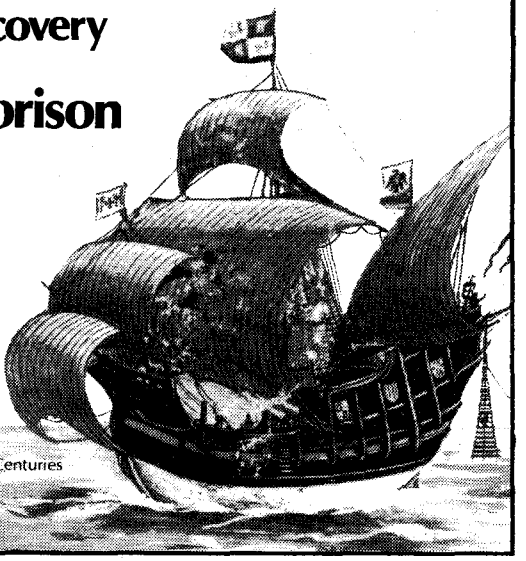
A new Soviet foreign policy meant that the Communists could no longer countenance neutrality on foreign policy issues within the CIO. When they insisted on condemnation of the Marshall Plan, they forced a rupture with CIO chieftain Phil Murray. As they

Morison's great adventure.

"A tour de force," wrote *The New York Times*. "Dazzling" was *The New Yorker's* comment when Samuel Eliot Morison's history, *The European Discovery of America* first appeared. Enhanced by the sailor-historian's re-tracing of each explorer's course, this monumental work is now available in a shorter version, with narratives of the most important and exciting voyages that capture the drama of one of humankind's greatest adventures.

THE GREAT EXPLORERS

The European Discovery of America
Samuel Eliot Morison
260 illustrations, $17.95



1478 1978
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Publishers of Fine Books for Five Centuries
200 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

broke with Murray and liberal Democrats who supported the Truman administration's foreign policy, they hastened their own demise. CP members who had gained leadership positions in CIO affiliates largely put their unions first and abandoned the Party. Cochran skillfully shows how the Party leadership naively tried to keep the wartime Left-Center coalition together, by resorting to political manipulation and duplicity. At the 1946 CIO convention, the Party leaders supported and even introduced a resolution which stated that CIO delegates "resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party . . . to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." By pretending that a major defeat was a victory—since the Right wanted the Communists completely removed from leadership at that early date—Cochran concludes that Murray skillfully "made the Communists place the noose around their own necks."

That noose would be tied within the next few years, with the expulsion of the Left-led unions by the CIO in 1949-50. In his account of those trials, Cochran again goes against the old consensus. Concentrating on the United Electrical Workers, Cochran praises that Communist-led body as an "effective organization for its members in trade union terms," though he is careful to challenge the Communist's overinflated claims for its accomplishments. He notes that the anti-Communist caucus led by James Carey could never win leadership because it never was able to gain the rank and file's support. "The average UE member," Cochran writes, ". . . was confronted with the choice of supporting an administration of experienced, dedicated, reasonably effective Communist influenced officials, and an opposition of untested and somewhat untrustworthy aspirants to office." Carey's men were viewed as both incompetent and irresponsible, and UE members "clung to the proven leaders they had despite antipathy for their politics and the surrounding pressures." The ultimate defeat for the UE was due not to desertion of the union by its members, but to the UE's expulsion, combined with an unprecedented governmental interference on the side of the newly created IUE.

Comparing those events with the rout of the Communists in the UAW, Cochran argues that Walter Reuther was able to exploit anti-Communism in order to challenge contesting factions for leadership in 1946. But unlike James Carey, Reuther was a popular figure who had gained a reputation as a fighter for worker's rights. But Cochran does not share the common estimate that Reuther won without resorting to the use of vulgar Red-baiting. Rather, he writes, Reuther's drive "fed on and sustained the delirium that was spreading in the wake of the cold war." His opposing faction was *not* Communist-led; Reuther only fulminated against Reds to further his own leadership ambitions. And, he concludes, the UAW was more democratic when different factions contended for control.

While there are signs today of an emerging labor radicalism and militancy—among coal miners, steel workers and Teamsters—Cochran's conclusion that the Communist Party is today "a minor sect never likely to reappear on the American scene as a significant current" is well-taken. Bert Cochran has written what is likely to be considered the definitive and most balanced account of the Communist's contribution (both positive and negative) to the American labor movement.

Ronald Radosh

Ronald Radosh's most recent book, *Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism*, will be published in paperback this April (Free Life Editions).

In Search of the Silent South: Southern Liberals and the Race Issue by Morton Sosna

(Columbia University Press; $11.95)

Much of the old anger and frustration came back as I read Morton Sosna's good book. Sosna is a Northerner in search of those Southern liberals who fought against racism in their section. He started with the idea there were no such types, but one of his mentors at the University of Wisconsin put him on the trail of a book by Atticus Haygood, *Our Brother in Black*, published in 1881. From Haygood the trail ran thinly but clearly through George Washington Cable to Howard Odum, Ralph McGill, to Lillian Smith, fighters for racial justice in the era of Jim Crow. There were others who helped, but never a sectional network, never the thousands that each Southern liberal thought could be counted on. As Sosna dramatically shows, a sense of belonging to a great silent group sustained many Southern liberals through the worst times of lynching, shame and segregation. They had to think they were only the vocal spearheads, the voices of "decent" folks they knew. They were, in many cases, the consciences. And their odd isolation had its baneful effects. Liberals who did criticize racial mores south of Mason and Dixon's line were daring and damned. Most were not admired, even as the "town liberal." Many suffered persecution and persisted.

Sosna stresses the role of Southern women in attacking such outrages as lynching, their continual emphasis on Christian love, their dogged devotion to what they knew was right. He stresses, too, the strange role of Howard Odum (who loses a lot of luster in this book), the ambivalence of many liberals, especially Virginius Dabney (who Sosna thinks lacked moral conviction in his liberalism).

Most of these liberals shared two certainties: that they spoke for tongue-tied hordes; that "outsiders" could neither understand the Southern situation, nor help alleviate racism. Those certainties bonded them in another belief—that Southern blacks and whites shared not only hate but love, too, and that from their long travail together they could create a casteless society. It was an important belief, which history has not entirely negated.

Sosna has written an important book. It ought to be read widely by sociologists, historians, anyone concerned with how a monolithic social institution can be changed. Well-written, well-researched, well-structured, Sosna's book celebrates old courage and old timidity.

But I wish he had done more with Texas! I wish that for personal reasons. I

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fought some of the old wars in Texas and knew many of the contestants. Lillian Smith's *North Georgia Review* enjoys justified fame as a liberal journal—the *Texas Observer* deserves equal billing. J. Frank Dobie, celebrated western scholar and folklorist, stood on the frontline of the racial fight in Texas. He served as national committeeman for the Progressive Party in the election of 1948—and that election marked the supreme battle for Texas racial liberals. There were countless other people—Jubal R. Parten, Ralph Yarborough, even LBJ, who came to do more for the cause than its firmer believers.

These, though, were later fighters; they followed the farmers alliance movements in Texas of the 1870s and '80s (Sosna should have done more with the alliances all over the south). The struggle waxed warm. I remember how, when I was a boy, the whole town of Austin would retreat behind curtains when "the Klan marched." My parents were Northerners converted to love for Texas and they were liberal to the core. But they were scared of the Klan. Everybody who was sensible was scared of the Klan, and that fear dampened the activism of many Southern liberals. That fear and the scathing denunciation friends could dole out in groceries or offices.

Sosna thinks Southern evangelical Christianity had much hand in sustaining the true Southern liberals. It probably did. But not for me, and many I knew. I know precisely when I got mad about race, and religion had nothing to do with it. I was 12 years old (40 years ago) and living with my parents in St. Petersburg, Florida. We had a black handyman who also drove for us, because my parents were vastly unmechanical. One day he and I went to town. I wanted to sit on one of the famed green benches and asked Byrd Thompson to sit with me. He refused. I insisted. A white storekeeper saw the drama, raged out of his store and accused me of being a "nigger lover" and of trying to disrupt the "Southern way of things." I didn't know what the "Southern way of things" was, but I was mortified, ashamed, angry and sure that the police would help. My mother, crushed by my sudden brush with the world, told me the police would not help. That moment sealed my loyalty to a cause I didn't even know existed. But I stayed the course long enough to learn something that I wish Sosna had chronicled—it would have made a fine Greek symmetry to the end of his story.

In the hard days of Henry Wallace's campaign I joined the Progressive Party and fought fiercely in what all of his followers came to know was a losing cause. We loved him in Texas for one reason above all others—he came to us and spoke of ending racism. He talked to mixed audiences—unheard of, then. And he had a vision of an America beyond color barriers which seemed to me the finest vision ever. And for my money, and for the money of many of my cohorts, Henry Wallace won the election of 1948. Harry Truman may have beaten the odds and been elected president, but the biggest underdog that year was Wallace and what he did in my hometown of Austin was win. He probably did not carry a precinct (I can't remember) but he was responsible for a huge *desegregated* public meeting in Austin and it was the first I ever attended. The wonder of it came strikingly home when a young black standing by me began to

The critics praise THE PARTIES...

"Not only did I enjoy THE PARTIES, I learned from it. It's the most provocative look at what's happening to American politics that I've read in years."
—Bill Moyers

"From de Tocqueville to Mydral, foreign-born observers have sometimes seen America more clearly than Americans. Henry Fairlie belongs to this remarkable tradition. THE PARTIES is a biting and brilliant commentary on our political life."
—Michael Harrington

"In a breezy, witty style, Fairlie brings to life some half-forgotten political truths."
—*Publishers Weekly*

"A penetrating analysis of the American party system."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

Republicans and Democrats in This Century
by the author of *The Kennedy Promise* and *The Spoiled Child of the Western World*
HENRY FAIRLIE

$8.95 at bookstores or from
St. Martin's Press
175 Fifth Avenue, New York 10010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cry. "What's the matter?" "There's nothing the matter; it's just that we all here together."

And that is what the Southern liberal knew all along. We were always all there together, but couldn't break through for each other for so long.

Sosna thinks Southern liberals were a factor in change, but that they were too silent. He should have been with us in Austin.

Frank E. Vandiver

Frank E. Vandiver is provost of Rice University.

Ranke: The Meaning of History by Leonard Krieger

(University of Chicago Press; $23)

The productivity of Leopold von Ranke was staggering. His collected historical works, many of which rest upon laborious archival digging, amount to 54 volumes. True, until age 50 family life did not distract him—if then, in an age of servants; the Prussian monarchy granted him frequent research leave (a favor he repaid with encomiums); he ignored administration, and he must have been blessed with the gift of fluent first-draft composition. Nonetheless, he was truly Clio's Stakhanovite, choosing *labor ipse voluptas* as his motto, and the work that was his passion remains a reproach to all of us feckless successors.

In this respect Ranke typified the great intellectual producers of the 19th century whose life work attained a monumentality—strived for, too, in the organization of architectural space, the novel or symphony—that became increasingly difficult and precarious thereafter. In Ranke's case the historical work embodied an ideological conservatism. But the confidence in the enterprise, its presuppositions of objective historical order and describability, were more of a necessary condition for carrying it through than was the political stance. Historians who seek such coherence today look for it less as part of a historical process than as a "structural" attribute of social or mental organization, at most. For Ranke, as Leonard Krieger emphasizes, the unfolding through time itself testified to order and providence. Thus all his diverse books were seen as asymptotic approaches to a universal history of mankind.

Krieger has written a dense, demanding study of Ranke. Readers familiar with his earlier books on German intellectual history know they are a struggle, but for those interested in the history of how Europeans thought about politics and society from the 17th through 19th centuries they are among the most significant and rewarding. The reader will find only skeletal personal data about Ranke in this book—this is no biography like John Clive's *Macaulay* with its rich depiction of family and social milieu—and he receives only the barest recapitulation of Ranke's narratives. What Krieger offers is a structuring of Ranke's life work into decades of synthesis and exploration—with the phases in turn triggered by Europe's revolutionary upheavals—so that the historian's long career becomes almost a sonata movement with theme, variations and periodic resolutions with a return to thematic base.

The underlying preoccupation of Krieger's extended essay is the balance of unique and universal in Ranke's history. Ranke early on distinguished himself for two major contributions. The first was the voracious but careful use of archival documentation. Coupled with the encouragement of the historical seminar as a workshop for analyzing these primary sources, this method was what a later age has often taken as the Rankean contribution.

But just as important the early Ranke carried forward the Romantics' impatience with the search for uniformity and universal law. German Romantics sought out individuality and uniqueness; they turned to Shakespeare and the Gothic for a rich manifold of creative varieties of individuality. Ranke insisted that the same vitality marked nations and states and even the murkier or more bloody historical epochs; "every age stands immediate to God." States obeyed their own inner developmental laws and could not be arraigned according to uniform norms. The trajectory from this exuberance of the 1830s to justification of the power politics of the 1860s and '70s has frightened critics of Ranke, although to some disciples, such as the early Meinecke, it seemed liberating.

Krieger argues that Ranke is less one-sided and that the emphasis on individual state development is counterbalanced by the search for universal ideas. Thus German history became the story of Protestant religious emancipation and English parliamentary conflicts incorporated the vanguard of an overarching constitutional advance. After 1848, according to Krieger, Ranke even managed to assimilate the revolution he had feared and hated into the progress of history, so that he could present Prussia and France as contending components in an epochal progression of monarchical and democratic trends. Perhaps Krieger over-emphasizes the role of universal trends. Still as he makes clear, Ranke did not merge his nation-states into some superficial higher unity; at best they seem to generate a creative transcending tension as if locked in some cosmic isometric exercises.

In a period when the historians of "events" seem to have lost inspiration to the practitioners of social history, Ranke remains an encouragement for the former. He presses home that power is an abiding theme and that the nation-state has been a determining force for much of human activity. His success suggests further that historians must choose significant themes and that archival detail and broad generalization can be complementary, and not necessarily opposed.

Despite the vast differences one is reminded of Braudel's work on the Mediterranean, which represents in effect a double challenge to Ranke. Obviously Braudel stresses the geographical and social determinants Ranke ignored; in addition Braudel substitutes an east-west Mediterranean axis for Ranke's vision of Latin-Germanic community as the vital force in early-modern history. Nonetheless, the productions enhance each other and both strive to push beyond the conventional limits of history writing.

On the other hand, the comparison reveals the limits of Ranke's achievement. Despite Krieger's presentation, Ranke's programmatic statements are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not high-order philosophizing and there is little satisfactory resolution of the conflict between individual and universal. Ranke's conservatism does not allow an adequate confrontation with the revolutions that punctuated the early modern era. Schiller wrote that a historian had no worthier theme than a people's struggle for its independence; but for Ranke the state displaced the people and power became tantamount to independence. Michelet's democratic vibrations were alien; and at the time of Ranke's death, at the age of 90, Karl Lamprecht was publishing a meticulous socioeconomic study of feudal Germany which opened pathways Ranke had ignored—only to be virtually read out of the German profession for his later attack upon Ranke's approach. Nonetheless, Ranke's architectonic achievement is compelling. Krieger was right to penetrate the body of work for those who should absorb it, even if they seek to go beyond.

Charles S. Maier

Charles S. Maier is the author of *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany and Italy in the Decade After WWI* (Princeton).

Reconsideration

Jean Piaget

Until this century psychology was predominantly a province of philosophy and theology. Locke understood the workings of the unconscious, concerned himself with emphatic do's and don'ts of child rearing. Hobbes based a political philosophy on a particular notion of the human mind. Were Kierkegaard suddenly to be "called back" to us on this earth, he would have precious little to learn from textbooks of "psychodynamic psychiatry." Schopenhauer and Nietzsche were stunningly in touch with mental life, their own and everyone else's—so much so, Freud carefully avoided reading them, lest he find himself discovering what they had already discovered. He knew that a long line of writers (Sophocles, Shakespeare, Dostoevsky) had already charted the essentials of his theory of the mind's life. But a playwright or novelist is one thing: intuition given estimable, civilized leeway. The treatises of a philosopher are uncomfortably similar to the presentation and elaboration of psychiatric theory.

Both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, surely the giants of late-19th century German philosophy, had in fact shown themselves all too interested in a kind of metaphysical speculation that, when compared, say, to Kant's reasoning could be considered "unscientific". In contrast, Freud was a brilliant theorist, but very much a clinician; and he was a clear headed essayist, anxious to win an audience for himself. He was no innocent about the world outside his office. He knew that each age requires its own symbols, metaphors. His "mythological theory of instincts," as he once candidly referred to his ideas (in an exchange with Einstein) had to be tethered to biology, medicine, the hospital and clinic—in sum, the god of science—if they were to be widely regarded, and more, believed. The man who flirted with the magic of hypnosis and cocaine, who handed rings to his close associates, who paused long and hard before taking a trip to Rome, knew in his bones how to ask the contemporary question of faith: who among the secular bourgeoisie believes what—and for how long?

There is, however, quite another kind of psychology than that of the unconscious—less dramatic, less personal, less preoccupied with strife and symptoms, less appealing, perhaps, to many of us: the line goes from Kant to William James to Piaget. It is a psychology of knowledge, of intellect, of will; a psychology willing to settle for the quiet, discreet turmoil that accompanies the acquisition of ideas and values—as contrasted to the continuing, eruptive frenzy of emotional conflict. Kant was preoccupied during his long lifetime with matters which we today consider the property of "science". He studied Newton's work closely, and was enough of a natural scientist to be leery of a rationalism that set up arbitrary categories or definitions as a means of approaching psychological experience. He struggled against the temptations of speculative metaphysics, modestly acknowledged not only his own limits, but those that ought to bind others: pure thought can only penetrate so many of life's mysteries. Reason is a somewhat wayward, discursive entity; if it is to be utilized effectively, it needs to be fed "material" from the outside world —the so-called "data of the senses." A somewhat isolated, provincial man (he never left Königsberg, even to tour other parts of Prussia), he seems to have worried much that his wide-ranging, hungry mind would become all too imperiously self-satisfied—and confuse its "internal" operations with the workings, in all of us, of intelligence. One of his grandfathers was from Scotland, and may have served to remind him of the virtues of empiricism.

William James needed no such reminders. His mind was at ease with biology and physiological psychology as well as moral and religious thought. He

news analysis

Twice-Monthly Newsletter on current world affairs.

Authoritative background, interpretation, comments, on today's national and international political, social, economic trends.

Clear Concise In-Depth

By the Dean of America's Radio-TV News Analysts

WILLIAM WINTER

A MUST to supplement your favorite news periodicals

SEND FOR FREE SAMPLE COPY TODAY

William Winter Comments
9350 Wilshire Boulevard
Beverly Hills, CA 90212

Name

Address

City State Zip

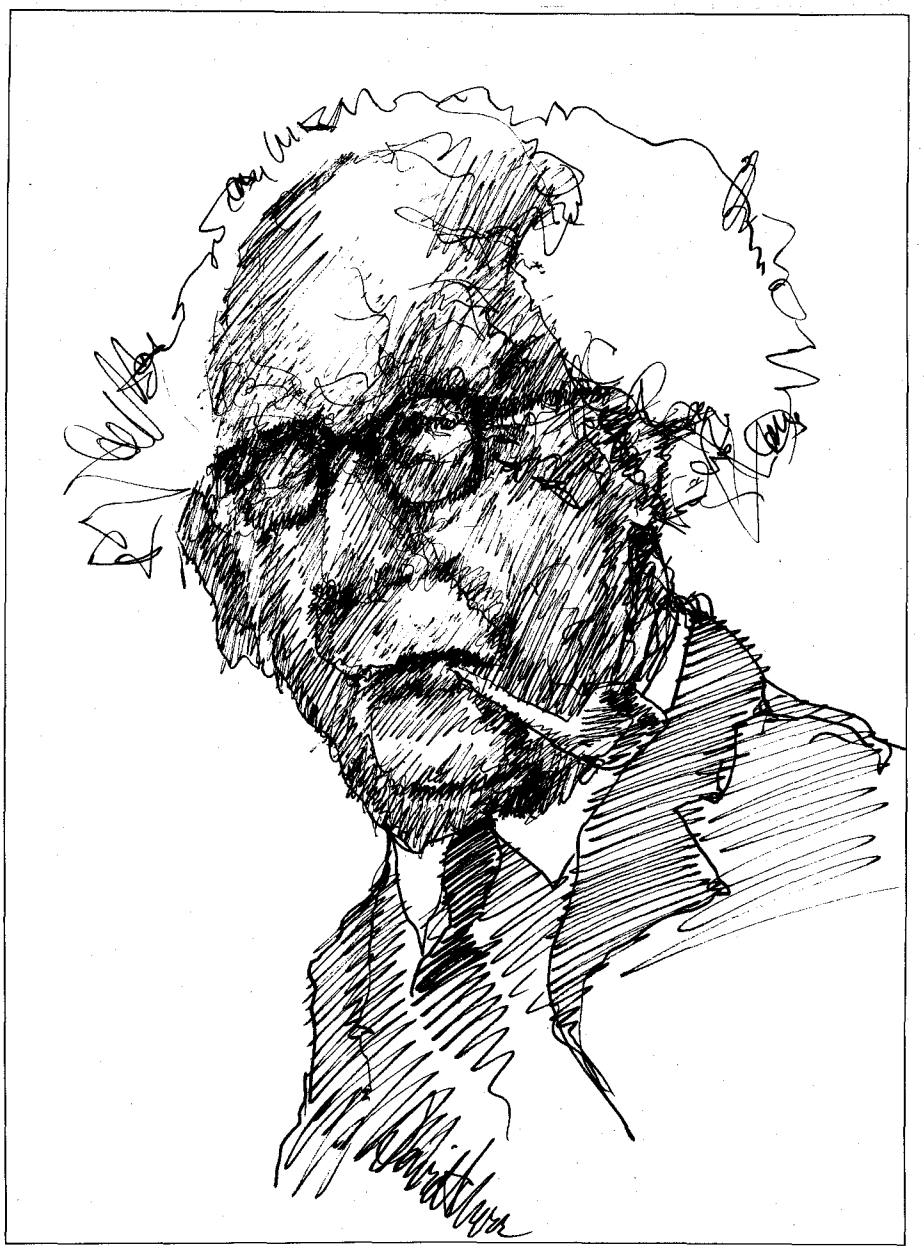
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shunned ideas—scientific, philosophical, psychological—that were not, in some fashion, connected to concrete experience. Psychological statements or appraisals that could not be tied to the specifics of human behavior were, for him, self indulgent, if not self deluding. Like Kant, James gave the intellect limited but great significance. The domain of religion constantly impressed itself on both men: there is always before us the duality Flannery O'Connor characterized so briefly, wondrously—"mystery and manners." The former eludes us; the latter demands not self-displaying generalizations, but descriptive scrupulosity. We ought to try to know exactly what we are describing, but we ought be careful about turning our observations into unqualified laws. And if anyone hands down the laws, with no evidence, no observations that tell how, when, where, in what way, degree, proportion or measure, then at the very least the gates of the metaphysical have been entered. James detested dogma handed down in the name of philosophy or psychology. In the textures of human experience he hoped to find whatever "truth" was allowed him as a "mortal being." But such tentativeness and humility were not meant to undercut the authority of the intellect. James rather quickly (in the first decade of this century) saw the high value of Freud's work, but never forgot that, after all, it was Freud's observing, interpreting intellect, his restless and bold "will"—the depth and resourcefulness of the Ego which Anna Freud described in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (1936)—that had wrested the discoveries of *Die Traumdeutung*.

Jean Piaget, this year 82, a giant still with us, has given a lifetime to a pursuit of Kant's "reason", James's "will". A recently published thick "reference and guide" (*The Essential Piaget*, edited by two of his students, Howard Gruber and J. Jacques Voneche [Basic Books; $25]) reminds us how much we owe the Swiss

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, nonfiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.



Jean Piaget by David Schorr

psychologist who insists on being known as a philosopher (epistemology). He was, it seems, from childhood the careful observer—not inclined to boast or rush to announce a "finding". In 1907, at the age of 11, he described a sparrow which showed "all the visible signs of an albino." He watched intently, was sorry the bird abruptly flew away. Two years later he had no such problem with a mollusk he carefully described. He would become as a youth an attentive biologist, quick to connect the visible to the historical: "The mollusks in question in the present work have to struggle against all sorts of biological difficulties. It is only by the force of circumstances independent of their will that they have been recently precipitated to the depths." He describes what happened geologically, then salutes his subjects of inquiry: "They have exhibited such suppleness in their remarkable evolution that today these races withstand their exile very well and sometimes survive being brought back to the surface."

He would gradually move from biology to a kind of inquiry which others all over the world regard as "child psychology." For him, the work he does is "manageable" observation, which helps us comprehend how we become distinctively human. As a dreamy, idealistic young man he wondered why human beings are so murderous and greedy. Why not come up with answers, with ontological assertions? But he wanted to approach human "reality" as he once did the sparrow or the mollusk—with a mixture of objective regard and subjective enthusiasm. Moreover, he is a practical, earthy man, for all the dense thicket of prose he puts between himself and his readers. He will let others ask the "existential"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

questions; his studies are meant to give us clues about how we get to be the somewhat knowing, thoughtful people we are (some of us, some of the time). Put differently, he is a genetic epistemologist, ever anxious to learn how it is we obtain our knowledge of the world—an acquisition that begins during the first days of life.

Piaget is known by many for the "stages" he has postulated—the step-by-step manner in which children learn to comprehend the world. But he is the last one to hand out dicta and expect compliant faith. He is the direct observer almost to a fault. In *The Origins of Intelligence in Children* he provides us with pages of detailed description of babies—learning to come to terms with the strange, welcoming, confusing, frustrating world around them. As they do so, he points out, they engage in one or another stratagem. They "assimilate" what they have met up with, seen and heard and felt; that is, make it all part of themselves—to be used with persistence, and sometimes, originality. They also "accommodate" their own initiatives to the resistance the world may offer.

Piaget spent years watching his own three children and others as well. He watched them as they used their eyes and ears and hands and legs in the first months of life. The infant is an active, responsive, increasingly knowing explorer. In time, he or she, as a result of the various experiences enjoyed or suffered, develops a sense of things—or rather, a series of notions about what happens under x, y, or z conditions. "Assimilation" is an abstract word Piaget uses to describe a continuing cycle, that starts early in life, of activity followed by, yes, contemplation: I cry, I reach, I get, I push, I see something move, and simultaneously, I hear noise. The child takes stock constantly of sequences, consequences, this or that chain of events; and remembers what has been experienced, uses in various actions what has been remembered. The child also notes what will *not* happen—what won't be pushed, what yields to no pressure, what has its own demands, momentum, authority, persistence. A wooden wall is not a wooden toy on wheels, and so on. There are mistakes, moments and longer of perplexity, reflection and an effort to compromise: what I cannot change or turn to my very own purposes, I will learn to respect—and even so, manage to use or gain from, though only by acknowledging certain limitations.

For Piaget the child is a master-builder, a constant activist, a person who has never felt it necessary to distinguish between doing and learning. Children show themselves able to exert astonishingly complex mental operations, but not *because* they have become a given number of months or years old. The "stages" Piaget has in mind are not static, categorical inheritances of sorts, thrust by fate (nature and its plans) upon the waiting young. Each child is an explorer, an adventurer, and makes for himself or herself the discoveries that a man named Piaget has seen fit to record, describe, classify. Boys and girls try to deal with ideas about the world—the same complex ideas that philosophers and scientists also ponder to this day. What is time? What are numbers? How to deal conceptually with notions of territory, distance, space? What is the beginning and ending—of objects, of a particular experience, of life itself? How permanent are things—this, or that, or something else? And size, and density, and gravity—how does one come to fathom them, penetrate their secrets, gain some working acquaintance with them? Children of six, eight, ten are not usually given lessons in physics, in positivist or empirical philosophy, yet they acquire through their own exertions and speculations an exceedingly, intricate and subtle education. It is Piaget's belief that much of what children learn about space, time, distance, and so on, is a universal (transcultural) consequence of active exploration—when done at the "right age"; that is, at a moment in which enough prior experience and biological growth enable the mind to profit from what it goes through. The development of intelligence, then, is our biological adaptation to the environment—something achieved day after day, with varying degrees of success.

Still, there are mysteries to acknowledge as well as manners to be recorded: "Intelligence constitutes an organizing activity whose functioning extends that of the biological organization, while surpassing it due to the elaboration of structures." Here the philosopher's "dialectic" edges toward transcendance—as in the still to be "explained" moment when a child's noises turn into a person's words. The action of a "language center"? The expression of some reflexic, biological momentum? A moment of grace? The child of one or two "does it", starts talking; meanwhile, our most learned observers still marvel at the commonplace, indeed the universal "event"—and using many more words than a baby can dream of, they try to circumscribe what has happened: the domains of psychology, neuroanatomy, neurophysiology, and ultimately, one day far off, biochemistry.

Piaget uses the word "structures" often, is a "structuralist". Lévi-Strauss has told us that "structuralism is the search for unsuspected harmonies," and Piaget has been searching for them a long time, with considerable success. He has taught us that the random cries and groans, thrusts and probes, of children amount to, finally, elements in a "search" no less honorable or difficult than the one Levi-Strauss mentions. The words and sentences of children, their ideas and judgments, are investigative, reflective moments—a pursuit of order, coherence, meaning. Piaget does not ask, at least publicly, *why* it is that we

Lloyd's of Leather

Full Length Coat of Soft Goat Skin
Beautifully detailed, with pockets, tie belt, button front and pleated back.
GENUINE LEATHER
Available in 3 colors:
Rosé, Black, and Medium Brown
SIZES 5/6-17/18
$250.00 VALUE
ONLY $99.00
PLUS $4.50 POSTAGE & HANDLING
WORLD SALES, INC.
P.O. BOX 1135
CRYSTAL BAY, NEVADA 89402
(702) 831-4303
☐ Check Enclosed or Charge My
☐ Mastercharge ☐ Bankamericard ☐ Visa
Card No. _____
Expiration Date _____
Signature X _____
Size _____ Quantity _____
Color _____
Name _____
Address _____
_____
Phone _____
SATISFACTION GUARANTEED
PRICE SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are destined to go through such cycles, sequences, stages—such a "search". He has spent many decades documenting the tactics and strategy of it all, the continual work, the disappointments, the achievements. His has been, like Kant's, a "critique" of reason; they share a reluctance to take things for granted, a wish to spell out precisely what the mind *does*—as opposed to what it *has*, or *is*.

Nothing in Piaget's work need be turned into a refutation of the psychoanalytic viewpoint. William James did not abandon his "will" to the demanding turmoil of Freud's early concept of the Id. The Yankee psychologist and philosopher was willing to add a room, an entire wing to the mental house he knew would always be, anyway, in the process of being built, rather than *there, finished*. If Freud has taught us how hard and even fierce a struggle each child must wage for sanity, emotional stability, self-respect, Piaget has given us a glimpse of the work that goes into the gradually obtained victory we all too readily tend to think of as a flat given: intelligence—meaning competence, judgment and perceptiveness with respect to the things of this world. It is, of course, the ideologues who take a Freud, a Piaget, any interesting or persuasive observer and thinker, and go running off exclusively with him, her—it: words become The Word.

Robert Coles

Correspondence, *from page 7*

Act we finally will have a structure which enables the Administration and Congress to take the first step toward a future of full employment with steady non-inflationary economic growth," wrote Humphrey. I have no doubt that this was Humphrey's will. I rest my opinion on the highest authority: The letter so saying—signed by Hubert H. Humphrey—arrived the day after he died.

Risto K. Marttinen
Falls Church, Virginia

At the HUP

To the editors:

The Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania appreciates being described as the "biggest" and the "blue-blood" hospital of Philadelphia, but we have difficulty identifying with other implied descriptions in Eliot Marshall's February 11 article, "Climbing Into the Hospitals' Bed."

To say that hospitals have "unchallenged authority" to build, buy and hire with "vengeful abandon" and charge it to Medicare, Medicaid and Blue Cross is absurd.

HUP—the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania—is in the process of completing a $43 million addition. It will not increase the number of patient beds, but it will replace facilities which are 75 years old and more, some more than a century old. Those old buildings do not meet modern safety codes. Failure to meet the standards set by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals could mean loss of accreditation, which means Medicare, Medicaid and Blue Cross could reduce or terminate payments to the hospital.

What HUP does is influenced not only by the national accrediting agency, but also by Pennsylvania Department of Health regulations and those of the city, not to mention the University and its Trustees. Furthermore, in Southeastern Pennsylvania, as in most parts of the country, there is a community-based and federally required Health Systems Agency. Equipment and construction expenditures of more than $100,000 must be approved by the HSA. Then, of course, there is the range of external regulation to which hospitals, as well as other institutions, are subject, including occupational safety and environmental codes.

HUP is a teaching hospital—the first hospital in the nation established as part of a medical school. It is a referral hospital. By its nature, HUP requires a breadth of services and strives to have the most modern equipment and to practice the most advanced techniques; the referral hospital is expected to be prepared for the more difficult and exotic medical problems. Costs of handling those problems are higher.

Jack H. Hamilton
Director of Public Relations—Health Affairs
University of Pennsylvania

In reply:

I am happy to see that the high cost of operating hasn't forced HUP to forego a director of public relations.

Eliot Marshall

TRB, *from page 2*

writhing in unemployment, inflation, a $25 billion trade deficit and now a basic coal strike, to dwell on the economic problems of Russia seems ironic. Yet they are there just the same and, ultimately, the load they put on the peasants and workers may do more than the SALT talks to reduce armaments. Using United Nations standard of living figures from 30 countries, the Soviets are sixth from the bottom, the US third from the top (preceded by Switzerland and Sweden.) Per-capita GNP for the US is $7894; for Russia, $2759. The cost of being a military super-power puts a terrible burden on the Russian people: in absolute terms they spend about $1.40 for defense for each dollar spent by the US, according to one estimate.

In one thing Russia has almost caught up with the US and that is in the physical "Quality of Life" index—life expectancy, literacy and infant mortality. America's figure is 94; the Soviets are just under us at 91.

Notes:

The coal strike makes a new crisis for Carter; every time he seems to be just getting off the ground a new headwind hits and he needs a longer runway; passage of Panama treaties and an energy bill seemed likely to give him the needed lift but now it's less certain . . . . The press was negligent in presenting the determined mood of the miners in the lonely coal hollows which caught not only the White House but the inadequate UMW president Arnold Miller off-balance; miners are more interested in non-taxable health and pension benefits than in a big (and taxable) wage boost. . . . Deterioration of railroads is becoming dangerous; out of 200,000 miles of track, 44,000 are on "slow orders" because of risk; derailments have jumped from 5000 to 8000 in 10 years; repair would mean 100,000 jobs and $750 million cost, a wonderful boost for the economy, a Senate coalition thinks. . . . Oh, and I almost forgot—this is an anniversary. Thirty-five years ago this month this reporter became TRB, marking some kind of a record, I imagine, for continuity.

Coming:
Douglas Bush
on
Charles Dickens

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Republic School & College Directory

COMING APRIL 22ND! TNR's third annual **CAMP & SCHOOL DIRECTORY!** This issue will feature a thoughtfully compiled selection of the finest special interest summer places for students of all ages!

Camps

CRYSTALAIRE CAMP in Northern Michigan dune country. Coed, ages 9-15. Wilderness trips, farm animal care, gardening, work projects, sailing, swimming, creative arts. Informal non-competitive program. D. R. Reid. Frankfort, Michigan, 49635.

A LEARNING VACATION! Study art, crafts, writing - Nationally recognized staff. Truro Center for the Arts, Truro, Massachusetts, 02666 (Cape Cod).

CANADIAN WILDERNESS CAMP for young people 8 - 14. Canoe tripping, and serious nature study. Bird banding, exploring beaver lodges, hawks' nests, feldspar outcrops, help explain the "why" of conservation and ecology. For details, write Blue Heron, Box NR, 511 Morris Place, Shillington, Pennsylvania 19607.

Instruction

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE GRADUATE INSTITUTE in Liberal Education, an accredited institution approved for M.A. and teacher recertification. Twelth annual summer session, June 25-August 18. Small classes with open discussion of great books of western civilization. Write: Graduate Institute, Box 334, St. John's College, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

WINNING THE GAMES PEOPLE PLAY: HOW TO MASTER THE ART OF CHANGING PEOPLE'S BEHAVIOR. Reduce problem behavior—your own and others'—using modern psychological techniques. Interpersonal: martial, work, love, adult-child. Personal: habits, "will-power," new skills, productive use of time. $7.95 (soft cover, $12.95 (cloth bound). Include 50¢ handling. California residents add 6% tax. Money-back guarantee. MISSION PRESS, Dept. R101, Box 525, Kenwood, California 95452.

Foreign Studies

VISIT, STUDY THE SOVIET UNION! Language and culture classes conducted by Pushkin Institute and Leningrad State University through Center for Foreign Study. College credit. 4, 6, and 8 week programs. Moscow and/or Leningrad. Contact M. S. Hahn, 2060 North Vermont, #204, Arlington, Virginia, 22207.

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE on 3-week nonpolitical, non-profit exchange visits to the USSR. Open to qualified Americans, all ages, occupations, Departures June through December. Write-Wire-Phone Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR, 18 E. 41st Street, New York, New York 10017. (212) 889-7960.

LEARN SPANISH. If you really want to learn Spanish quickly, fluently and correctly, and if you have the courage and stamina for intensive and disciplined study, come for at least one month to the Cuernavaca Language School. First month $300. Following four weeks $200. Private tutor available at $350 for 50 hours. Details: Apdo. 480, Cuernavaca, Mexico.

"And the stones from the wall will scream."
(Habakuk 2:11)

אבן מקיר תזעק

NOW!

THE HOLOCAUST VICTIMS ACCUSE

By Rabbi Moshe Schonfeld

Did Jewish Leaders share guilt for the murder of 6 million Jews? - The question is being asked throughout the world. The answer is provided in this well-documented history of an agonizing period of Jewish History - From the pen of a Jew of great piety and learning whose message bears the ring of truth in the tradition of the Jewish prophets.

Available in paperback for $3.00

From major bookstores, including:
Barnes & Noble, 5th Ave. & 18th St. N.Y.C. • Brentanos all stores in Metro N.Y., also available in Brentanos of Boston, Washington D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles and St. Louis • Classic Bookshops, 48th St. & 6th Ave., & 572 5th Ave.

or send $3.00 to

Bnei Yeshivos
161 E. Houston St.
Suite 10
New York, N.Y. 10002

For Trade Distribution contact: **Associated Booksellers/Bridgeport, Conn. 06606**

The Classifieds

Personals

HEY FELLAS! You know what GEMINI women are like, don't you?—like Marilyn Monore, Judy Garland, Rosalind Russell. I was bron June 18, 1923. Now in New Orleans area during winter, summertime in San Francisco. Anyone interested? The New Republic Box 8700.

POETS! CORRESPOND with other poets. For information send 45¢ to: Poet's Directory of the Eastern United States, 10507 Proctor Street, Silver Spring, Maryland 20901.

SWF, 35, mytho-poetic, kind, self-reliant, adventuresome - seeks Mpls/Stp SWM interested words, music, laughter, mystery, egalitarianism. The New Republic Box 8705.

SEEKING CORRESPONDENCE
I would like to correspond with anyone who is lonely, in need of affection, understanding, and possible love. I'm 29 years of age. The New Republic Box 8695.

FOR CLOSE ENCOUNTERS of the nicest kind. Couples-Singles. Contact Plamates International. Box 3355, York, Pennsylvania 17402. (717) 848-1408.

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. New Information: Dept. N.R.-24 R.D. 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, Pennsylvania 18036.

LONELY! Meet new singles. Write: World, Box 3876-REP, San Diego, California, 92103.

HOW'S YOUR LOVELIFE? Discreet introductions. Couples-singles everywhere. Plamates, Box 3355, York, Pennsylvania 17402. (717) 845-1635.

DREAMERS: Writer/psychologist needs details your dream and feelings on waking. Theory of Natural Therapy Through Dreams. Will contact selected subjects. Willing analyze three dreams for $6 donation. The New Republic Box 8640.

CRAZY RICHARD'S PEANUT BUTTER World Famous - World's Finest! The Favorite of Statesmen, Celebrities, Gourmets. Great gift. 5 pounds $6.00 Shipped world-wide. Crazy Richard's Box 28, Bala-Cynwyd, Pennsylvania 19004.

YOUNG MALE, Professional, to meet beautiful, attentive female. 212-734-5875 collect.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured, single, widowed or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Write Box AE. Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081. Established 1970.

ORIENTAL LADIES want to write you. Blossoms, Stehekin, Washington 98852.

LATIN LADIES seek friendship. Write "Latins" Box 1716-NR, Chula Vista, California 92012.

DATES GALORE! Meet singles—anywhere. Call DATELINE, toll-free (800) 451-3245.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONWIDE DATING LIST, membership, $2.00. Box 872, Troy, New York 12181.

ATTRACTIVE, INTELLIGENT, AWARE Manhattan Female with diversified interests, looking to meet attractive, intelligent well-preserved male 45-55. 371-5617.

ATTRACTIVE, PEOPLE-ORIENTED professional, 38, mother of 2, seeks open, meaningful, lasting relationship. Enjoy art, theater, tennis, politics. The New Republic Box 8690.

Good Causes

When an AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD drops out of school, chances for success drop abysmally. Futures for Children is a non-profit organization working to help keep Native American children in school. For $20 a month you can take part in a *priceless endeavor, and get to know about a way of* life here in America. Write for further information or begin a sponsorship today: Futures for Children, 4401 Montgomery, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87109. Or call, toll-free (800) 545-6843.

SEND YOU LOVE OVERSEAS! You can become a Foster Parent to a little boy or girl for $19 a month—and learn the child's name, receive a photograph, a detailed case history, and exchange letters. For information, write: Foster Parents Plan, 158-B Plan Way, Warwick, Rhode Island 02887 or call toll free 800-327-8912.

Of Interest to Women

EVE'S GARDEN - a sexuality boutique and bookshop created by women for women. Free Catalog. 246 East 51st Street, Dept. NR, New York, New York 10022.

Et Cetera

RIF'd? UNDEREMPLOYED? Want a change? CONTROL your future with "Waging Your Job *Campaign"—detailed, specific howtodoit book,* PROVEN by experience. Sent $7.95 to NEW ENGLAND ASSOCIATES, Box 658, Dennis, Massachusetts 02638.

WANTED: MANHATTAN APARTMENT. June-July. *George Fasel, Provost's Office, University of* New Mexico, Albuquerque, 87131; (505) 243-4737.

CONTROL YOUR LIFE! Understand your Biorhythms. Make them work for you. Easy to use, computerized chart. One year program $7.95 and birthdate. BioPlan, Box 833-32 A. Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

LIBERAL SOCIALLY-CONSCIOUS VETERANS Frustrated by activity lag? Depressed by Democratic disarray? Use our platform. Free atomic age survival kit, available. Write American Veterans' Committee, 1333 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

PROFESSOR ON LEAVE seeks 4-5 Bedroom house near good schools. Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. 9/78 - 6/79. A. Etzioni, 450 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

PEDIGREED PERSIAN KITTENS - available most times. We breed for quality, not quantity. For information write: ALABAR CATTERY, The New Republic Box 8710.

SUMMER APARTMENT-SITTING SOUGHT in Manhattan by Chicago Law student. Help repatriate a native New Yorker. Box 734-B, 1005, East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

HURRY

NOW YOU CAN ENJOY a happier, richer, healthier life quick. Test the amazing Universal Law-N-Order System, FREE! Learn how easy it is to have anything you want. Details. Guaranteed. Send $1.00 for shipping and handling. Yancy, 8875 E. Vernor, Suite R-204, Detroit, Michigan 48214.

PROBLEMS with raising your child ages 2 to 18 and need expert advice. You can get help from a professional in "Child Development." Send your question and $10.00 check or money order to: Dr. Graham P. Matthews, Yoke-Parent Counseling, 4-101 Monticello Drive, Athens, Ohio 45701.

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, Ohio 44874.

PSYCHIC CAN BEWITCH (mesmerize) loved ones, others to your bidding. Write requests, donations appreciated. (503) 342-2210. Jamil, P.O. Box 10154, Eugene, Oregon 97401.

Literature

IF YOUR PLEASURE IS MUSIC, Houghton, Mifflin has published "The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History," by James Lincoln Collier. For your copy send $20.75 (ppd.) to R. Brudvig, 68 S. 12th, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403.

PRACTICAL POLITICS MAGAZINE, sample copy $1.50 and THE DIRECTORY OF POLITICAL EXPERTISE 1978, $3.25 each. Write: Terry Lutes, Center for Practical Politics, 2225 Spring Street, Springfield, Illinois 62704.

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, New York 14619.

NEW CHINA MAGAZINE. Full-color American Magazine featuring articles on politics, education, arts, economics, trade, all aspects of daily life. Interviews with Chinese leaders, book reviews, recipes, and a new travel column. Subscribe - only $5.75 for six issues. New China, Room 721R, 41 Union Square West, New York, New York 10003.

WRITE FOR PROFIT!

National publications on the look-out for fresh, new writing talent - your chance to cash in on the hidden ability *you know you have!*

My step-by-step cassettes tell you how to turn simple paragraphs into full-length articles that SELL! Learn a proven technique from a top "pro"... start making money; recognition you've dreamed of! For FREE information, write: WRITER'S WORKSHOP, 412 S. Lyon St., P.O. Box 10300-NSI, Santa Ana, CA 92711

INSIDE REPORT *to and from* grassroots America. WASHINGTON WATCH, 5 issues for $2.00. Dept. NP1, 3308 Cedar, Lansing, Michigan 48910.

AREAS OF CONCERN—Harry Hyde's newsletter for concerned citizens. Free sample (mention New Republic): AOC, Box 47, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania 19010.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION: WHO RULES?—a critique of the Marxist-Leninist left published by the Socialist Labor Party. 75¢. New York Labor News, 914 Industrial Avenue, Palo Alto, California 94303.

TNR Classified work. Your ad here would reach thousands of readers!

"CHINESE WOMEN CRITICIZE CHIANG CHING: The Enemy of Women's Liberation." Special issue of China Reconstructs, a monthly magazine air-mailed direct from Peking. This issue 50¢, or free with $3 yearly subscription. Send payment with order to China Books and Periodicals, Dept. NR, 2929-24th Street, San Francisco, California 94110. Free catalog on request.

POEMS—50¢ each. State category: Infinity, Humanity, Nature. Cedar, Box 61571, Vancouver, Washington 98666.

AMATEUR PHILOSOPHERS ZINE. Sample 50¢. Hereford, 1921 Kalorama Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER

Pay for 2 ads - get #3 FREE!

Classified Information

IT'S NO SECRET that TNR classifieds produce the results you're looking for. With a small additional investment, you can brighten your response even more with an eye-catching BOLD FACED HEADLINE, SIGNATURE or ILLUSTRATION!

I'll brighten up my ad:

☐ BOLD HEADLINE
$5 plus 70¢ per word

☐ BOLD HEAD & SIGNATURE
$10 plus 70¢ per word

☐ BOLD HEAD, SIG & INSET
$25 plus 70¢ per word (photo encl.)

☐ REGULAR CLASSIFIED
70¢ per word

(TNR Box Numbers - $4.50 extra)

See frequency rates next page.

Advanced payment enclosed $ _____

Please run my ad _____ times.

My ad reads: _____

Copy deadline 19 days prior to Saturday issue date.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1220 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Literary Services

PUBLISHER'S REJECTION SLIPS NOT FOR YOU? Learn psychological plot ingredients to make your manuscript marketable. Send $6.50 to: Literary Marketing Research, Box 782, Arlington, Virginia 22216.

THE PUNCTUATOR. Amazing new dial calculator is a practical tool for writers who hesitate before placing a comma, semicolon, apostrophe, etc. Students, business executives, authors, secretaries will find that dialing "THE PUNCTUATOR" brings accurate answers to their questions, quickly and easily. Price $3. BODEGA, Box 83 NR, San Leandro, California 94577.

ANY SUBJECT RESEARCHED, Library of Congress, etc. $12 per hour; American Research Center, P.O. 32352, Washington, D.C. 20007.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print as few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details, Graphic-copy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 10011.

WRITERS—"UNSALABLE" MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Out-of-Print Books

FICTION/NON-FICTION from stock or will search. Send wants + stamp: Friedman, Box 233, Tatamy, Pennsylvania 18085.

Bumperstickers

BUMPER STICKER PRINTING DEVICE. Cheap, Simple, Portable. Free Details. Bumper, POB 22791 (NW), Tampa, Florida 33622.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure. Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING INC. Dept. NR. 8551 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

T-Shirts

BEETHOVEN

Historical T-Shirts, etc.

Virginia Woolf, Joyce, Tolkien, Hemingway, Dickens, Proust, George Sand, Colette, Jane Austen, Poe, Dickinson, Thoreau, Nabokov, Anais Nin, Melville, Twain, G.B. Shaw, Brecht, Kafka, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, A. Christie, Einstein, Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Vivaldi, Handel, Brahms, Chopin, Wagner, Mahler, Ives, Wittgenstein, Nietzsche, Jung, Freud, Reich, Darwin, Mao, Marx, Russell, Plato, Earhart, Escoffier, Frank L. Wright, Van Gogh, Rembrandt, Nijinsky, Tutankhamun.

T-Shirts: white $6.50ea., 4/$22. red or blue: $8.ea., 4/$28. **Sweatshirts** (gray): $12ea., 2/$21. cotton. sizes sm(34-36) med(38-40) lg(42-44) xlg(46-48) allow for shrinkage. **Totes**(nat. canvas): $9.50ea., 2/$18 **Cook's Apron** (white): $8.ea., 2/$14. prices ppd. CANADIAN customers add $1.00 per piece.

HISTORICAL PRODUCTS Box 220C Cambridge, MA 02138

Stationery

BUSINESS CARDS - (1,000) Raised Print, for $9.99. Send name, etc., check or m/o. No cash. To: Carew Printing, Commerce Building, Erie, Pennsylvania, 16501. Money Back Guarantee.

REQUEST OUR FREE IDEA-PACKED sampler showing discount priced printed business/social stationery. Jacques, Wallingford, Vermont 05773.

Gourmet/Cookery

MORE THAN A COCKTAIL party, easier than a dinner. Do-ahead New Orleans-style brunch for 12 or more. Complete instructions, $3. M. Kimling, P.O. Box 142, Plymouth, Michigan 48170.

FRESH PACIFIC NORTHWEST SALMON - never frozen, delivered to your home. Write Fresh Fish Express, 2329-A Iron, Bellingham, WA 98225

RED CLAM SAUCE. Simple tasty spaghetti sauce. $1. Cookin Good Ideas, Box 818, Davisville, Rhode Island 02854.

Arts/Crafts

JAPANESE WOODBLOCK PRINT REPRODUCTIONS Masterpieces by Utamaro, Hokusai, Hiroshige, etc. New catalogue illustrated 600 subjects, $10.00 (seamail). No wholesale available. Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints, CPO Box 362, Tokyo, Japan.

Health

DEVELOP A "LIGHTER" body and feel weightless through practical, proven technique. $2.00. Peak Potential Ent., Box 234, Nyack, New York 10960.

INTO JOGGING, weightlifting, general fitness? Physical Fitness Newsletter Dept. 15, P.O. 195, Western Springs, Illinois 60558. Free copy.

PERMANENT WEIGHT LOSS! Amazing psychological discovers. No drugs, pills or willpower! Guaranteed Results. Free Literature. Drawer 8797, Allandale, Florida 32023.

RELIEVE LOWER BACK PAIN

Booklet details proven, no-nonsense program that works! $1.50. Prospect Press, Box 11473, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 53211.

HOW TO CHOOSE YOUR DOCTOR. Valuable guidelines, advice and questions. $2.00 Chez Norman Press, 7B Glenavy Avenue, Toronto, Canada M4P 2T5.

Toys/Games

HANDSOME SET OF 60 music-oriented crossword puzzles Original; high quality. $3.50; NY residents add sales tax Onesime Piette, 320 Greenwood Place, Syracuse, New York 13210.

CUSTOM CROSSWORDS

Individually made for your conventions, retreats, anniversaries, family occasions! Personalized terms, names, in-jokes, etc. Camera-ready. Write. Custom Crosswords, NR Odin House, Madison Minnesota, 56256.

Music

HARPSICHORD, SPERRHAKE, 1964, two manual, 2-8' stops, 1-4' stop, coupler and lute stops. Walnut case. $4750. 202-338-7975.

BURTON HARPSICHORDS, SPINETS, AND CLAVICHORDS - Professional instruments in kit form, from $195. For brochure write Burton Harpsichords, 727 "R" Street, P.O. Box 80222N, Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

PROTECT YOUR ALBUMS. White cardboard replacement jackets 35¢. Gray plastic lined inner sleeves 15¢. Postage $1.25. Record boxes and 78 sleeves available. CABCO TNR-3, Box 8212, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

Stereo

"UNDISCOUNTABLE" HIGHEND STEREO (Nakamichi, Yamaha, B & O, Klipsch, Infinity, etc.) at top discounts! Information: $1.00 (refundable): Golden Ear, POB 296, Idaho Springs, Colorado 80452, (303) 582-5200.

THE GREAT ESCAPES

Vacation/Travel

FREE TRAVEL!!! U.S.A.—ABROAD. INSIDERS SECRETS, Save time, energy, money on your travels! FREE DETAILS. Send S.A.S.E. to ROBERTS SPECIALTIES, R3, Ellsworth, Wisconsin 54011.

TNR Classifieds work. Your ad here would reach thousands of readers!

EAST PENOBSCOT BAY, MAINE. Three-bedroom house, beautiful wilderness surroundings on deep water inlet. Boats included. June-July. $500/two weeks. Hoyt, 808 Lafayette, N.E. Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106. (505) 268-4179.

PUERTO RICO: Luquille Beach House. 3 Bedrooms for rent weekly. Edward Pinney, 148 E. 78th Street, New York, New York 10021. (212) 879-8870.

CASA ANDORRA, CULEBRA ISLAND, P.R. Waterfront, sleeps six. Swimming, scuba, snorkeling, bicycling, fishing. Weekly. Box 526, Bronxville, New York 10708. (914) 961-6591, evenings.

WORLDWIDE HOME EXCHANGE FOR PROFESSIONALS - Exciting travel opportunities for licensed professionals and their families. Choose from many beautiful homes throughout U.S. and abroad, year-round. Reduce vacation costs. Request free brochure from Professional Courtesy NR 601 Beachview Drive, St. Simons Island, Georgia 31522.

BACKPACK THE IDAHO WILDERNESS - David Petersen will be guiding nature trips into the untouched wilderness areas of Idaho. See the wilds of this beautiful country with this experienced and licensed guide. Equipment and meals provided. P.O. Box 9252, Moscow, Idaho 83843.

Property Sale/Rent

LARGE CHEVY CHASE, D.C. HOME, four bedrooms, children's play and sleeping area in restored attic, 2½ baths, two fireplaces, large, modern kitchen, 90 × 110 lot. Available 8/1/78 - 7/15/79. The New Republic Box 8685.

BEAUTIFUL SIERRA STREAM LAND—NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. Dramatic mountain setting. Two acre forested parcels. Primitive commons areas, restrictions protecting forest, privacy; electricity, year round paved access. Small, uniquely planned area, National Forest surrounding. Excellent swimming, fishing. Permanent homes or retreats. Adjacent pasture. Previous offerings; most sold New Republic respondents. Write H. Page, Taylorsville, California 95983.

Classified Rates

Per word (single insertion)	**70¢**
Per word 6 times in one contract year	**65¢**
Per word 12 times in one contract year	**60¢**
Per word 24 times in one contract year	**55¢**
Per word 48 times in one contract year	**50¢**

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance

Copy Deadline: 19 days prior to Saturday issue date.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1220 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Diarist Abroad

Tales from Two Cities

Leaving Heathrow Airport for London, the traveler is greeted by a billboard proclaiming "*The Observer* looks ahead of its times." As evidence of its fix on the future, London's liberal Sunday newspaper offers up its feature of the week, in fact a serialization running over several weeks: "Goebbels' Diaries Exclusive." Commerce in Nazi nostalgia shows no sign of abating. This latest version of Dr. Goebbels' legacy has been more or less authenticated by Hugh Trevor-Roper, who is the quasi-official authenticator of this sort of stuff. This version may well be genuine, but it is not the only genuine one. The minister of propaganda kept several simultaneous diaries, aimed at different audiences and prepared for various contingencies regarding his place in posterity. A great Goebbels record, apparently including another ultimately *more truthful* diary, has been amassed at the Magdeburg archives in East Germany, along with much else that would shed light on the Nazi epoch, and even on many who serve the Deutsche Demokratische Republik today. But the Communist keepers of history won't let anyone but their trusties in to look. The inaccessibility of the important Magdeburg Nazi collections to western scholars might have been an ideal "basket three" human rights test at the recent Belgrade conference. It might have been, that is, if human rights meant anything at all in Belgrade.

Racism makes good politics in Britain it seems. Margaret Thatcher, who aspires to be Prime Minister, has pledged her Tory party to new bans against further immigration of "Coloureds." Why, the question goes, need England be a multiracial society. Well, for one, it already is one. But a Conservative victory in a by-election a fortnight ago confirms what the polls had already made clear: Not being "swamped by aliens" is a much more appealing prospect, thus a much more appealing war cry for the Tories, than thrift. But the people in question are not, under any proper understanding, immigrants at all. In fact, their status is roughly comparable to that of Puerto Ricans in America. Though they come from outside England proper, they have had British passports for years. Proper conservatives, a declining breed, are embarrassed by Mrs. Thatcher's vulgar play to the balconies. They've always warned against the populist style, and they were right. A complicating fact for Mrs. Thatcher is that she hopes to attract votes among the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisie, money after all being money. Much is made, therefore, of the distinction between Asians "who work hard" and blacks "who don't." There is even a scheme afoot to subsidize the return of the unwanted of Britain to their places of origin. It is all kind of indecent.

So you won't be surprised to hear that the idea is already in effect in France. It is still on a somewhat limited basis ("experimental," a defensive French friend told me). Fifteen thousand francs is available to Arab, black and other ex-colonials who will go and foreswear coming back. You would think that the French left, and particularly the Communists, tribunes of the downtrodden, might be making a lot of noise against this. But they're not.

England is not in good shape. The trade deficit has reappeared after a few months of grand illusions caused by the first rush of North Sea oil. Unemployment is high, and prices are higher—certainly higher than in New York and California. Labour's one-time ideologist, latterly technocrat of moderate social democracy and for the moment Labour's fairy godfather, Denis Healey, will be able to spread around a few goodies, such as a paltry tax cut, before the next elections (expected for the early fall); but such tricks, as we know from our own experience, don't address the real problems.

The French have been campaigning for nearly two years. The first round of their two-stage election (culminating on March 19) is upon us as this issue of *TNR* goes into the mails. Just about everyone I know in France is voting "no" to all the parties, and this includes people all across the French political spectrum—except, of course, for the Communists, those sullen, inbred enthusiasts of the revolution. After more than 30 years in isolation, they hope to gain entry to power through their alliance with François Mitterand's Socialist party, which they despise and not because of what Freud called "the narcissism of small differences." The alliance was the only way for the Socialists, too, who had been compromised among workers by long years of complicity with the self-enriching Republican right. It wasn't the Red rhetoric that was so hard to swallow: the parties of the very much pacified second international still adjourn their fests to strains of the *internationale*. But the "common program" that the Communists extracted from the Socialists as the cost of the electoral liaison commits the left in power to quick enactment of specific and drastic structural changes in French society (some of them not wholly undesirable). There would be many troubles if these took effect. But here is another rub for *gauchiste* rule: Not for a moment do the ever-cautious Mitterand, his centrist allies or his formidable right wing favor the multiple provisions of their marriage contract with Georges Marchais's Communists.

Or should I say Brezhnev's Communists? The French party does not really please him all the time. But on no issue in world affairs—none—are the Communists of France out of step with the Soviet Union. That's reason enough for the other French, most of France, to be fearful, and they are. But their fear arises not only because of the indissoluble Soviet connection. The party still lives by catechism, centrally formulated, dutifully accepted. Its unions threaten freedom of the press, as Communist unions did yesterday in Portugal, and today in Italy. And, most fearsome fact of all, those who may come to power will have awaited the day patiently and doggedly, for many years. Power might not come their way again soon.

Stalin died 25 years ago on March 5. Ours may be an age of historical amnesia, but the bitter memories of this tyrant's life and of the cruel system he perfected are not easily forgotten. A brilliant new book published in England, *Victims of Yalta* by Nikolai Tolstoy (to be published here by Scribner's as *The Secret Betrayal*) tells the chilling story of Britain's eagerness to turn over to Stalin more than two million Russians who fell into allied hands after the Nazi defeat. Most of them did not want to return to Soviet rule; some had never lived under it. Nearly one million of them are known to have been killed after their return; only God, and perhaps the Kremlin scorekeepers, know about the rest. Both Anthony Eden and Churchill wanted Stalin kept content at all costs. The cost, of course, fell to others, and Stalin always wanted more. That's how England's finest hour ended.

M.P.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A wise and much needed integration of medicine, psychology and religion. . . .Full of profound insights."

—MORTON KELSEY
University of Notre Dame

Healing Life's Hurts

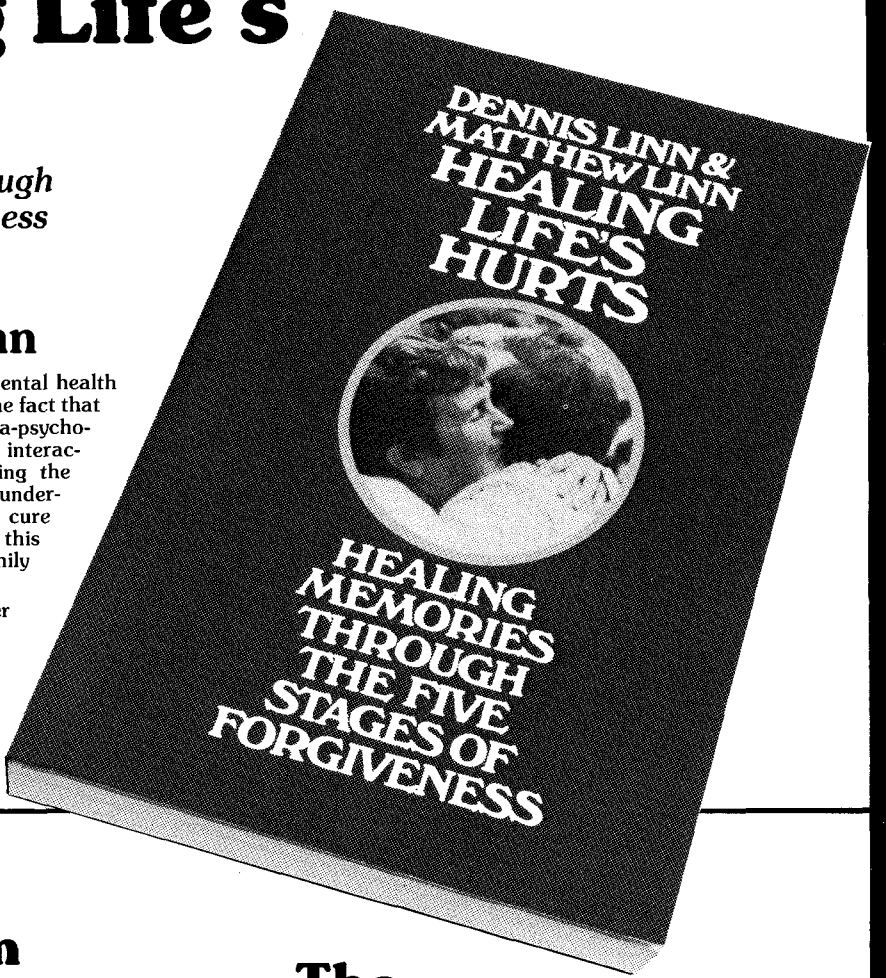
Healing Memories through Five Stages of Forgiveness

by Dennis Linn and Matthew Linn

"For too long, professionals in the mental health disciplines have chosen to minimize the fact that the matter of our work is truly pneuma-psycho-somatic: *spirit*-mind-body, in dynamic interaction. The Linns succeed in presenting the compelling evidence for this tripartite understanding of life's hurts—and how to cure them, not merely cope with them—in this exciting book."—MARTIN F. LYNCH, Family Medical Center, Rochester, N.Y.

"The most complete book on inner healing that I have read."—ABBOT DAVID GERAETS, O.S.B.

$3.95 paper; $8.95 cloth



The Napoleon of Notting Hill

by G.K. Chesterton
With an introduction by Andrew M. Greeley

The long-awaited reprint of a classic. As Andrew Greeley has written in his special introduction: "In a world in which *Small Is Beautiful* can become a bestseller, it is long past time for *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* to appear in print once again." *With 6 line drawings from the original edition.* $3.45 paper

The Leadership Book

by Charles J. Keating

Relating the latest findings of the behavioral sciences to the fields of religion and spirituality, this concise self-teaching manual—by an educator, writer and consultant who has conducted numerous workshops on organization development—will help the reader to improve the skills necessary for effective leadership in any kind of group situation. $2.45 paper

At your bookstore

PAULIST PRESS
545 Island Road, Ramsey, New Jersey 07446

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

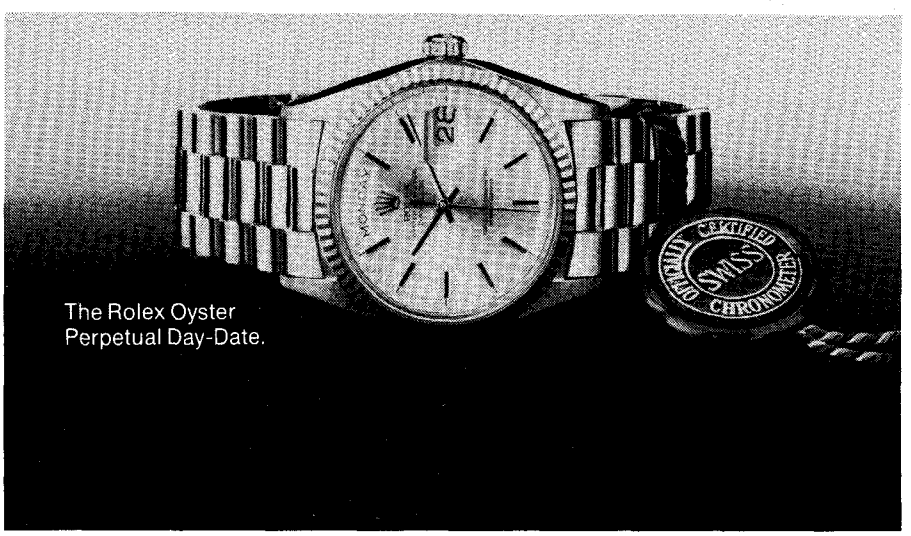
Announcing The Winners of The Rolex Awards for Enterprise

RITTER LIBR
BALDWIN-WA
COLLEGI

THE ROLEX OYSTER 1926-1976 TO MARK THE EIGHTEEN ANNIVERSARY OF
The Rolex Award for Enterprise
Created by Montres Rolex SA to sponsor outstanding personal enterprise

In September 1976, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Rolex Oyster, we launched the Rolex Awards for Enterprise.

"To provide financial help for projects which seek to break new ground in their particular sphere and which capture the spirit of enterprise shown by Rolex, and Rolex owners, over the last 50 years."



The Rolex Oyster
Perpetual Day-Date.

We offered a total of five awards of 50,000 Swiss francs each, together with a specially inscribed Rolex Chronometer.

The response from around the world was overwhelming and over 3,000 projects were finally considered.

The Winners

This spring, Dr. Billy Lee Lasley, Kenneth Lee Marten, and Francine Grace Penelope Patterson from the U.S.A., Luc Jean-François Debecker of Belgium, and Georges Marcel André Delamare of France were invited to Geneva, where they were each presented with a check for 50,000 Swiss francs, together with a specially inscribed gold Rolex Chronometer.

The Book

"The Rolex Awards for Enterprise," by Gregory B. Stone, will be published later in the year as a lasting tribute to the Rolex Spirit of Enterprise. The book will give a full account of the winning projects along with the details of hundreds of other entries. In the meantime, if you'd like more information on the winning entries, write to Enterprise, Rolex Watch U.S.A., Inc., Rolex Building, 665 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

MAR 17 1978

ROLEX

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED